AGRARIAN CONDITIONS OF AWADH UNDER THE MUGHALS AND NAWĀB WAZĪRS; 1595–1856

ABSTRACT

THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY
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A B S T R A C T

The thesis is concerned with the agrarian history of Awadh during the period c. 1595 to 1856, covering the Mughal and *nawābi* periods. Awadh, a part of the Gangetic plain, forms a fairly homogeneous geographical block, though its political boundaries as a Mughal *sūba* and a kingdom (especially before 1801) varied considerably (Chapter I).

The detailed information in the *Āin-i Akbari* has been used to determine the level of cultivation and (on its basis) the size of population c. 1600. It has been concluded that cultivation then was about 59% of what it was in 1885-6; and that the population of the *sūba* was 9 millions. The same limits contained 15.6 millions in 1856, showing a low growth of 0.28% p.a. (Chapter II).

The methods of cultivation and crops have been studied in Chapter III. Particular use has been made of the *Āin* as well as British reports of *nawābi* Awadh.

The land-revenue arrangements under the Mughals and Nawāb Wazirs have been treated separately, owing to obvious differences, though the origins of the latter lay in the former. The failure of the Nawāb Wazirs to evolve a satisfactory revenue machinery under the constant financial and political pressure from the British has been studied in particular detail (Chapters IV and V).

An important feature of the agrarian situation in Awadh was the presence of zamīndārs right from Mughal peri(to the Annexation. Chapter VI is devoted to a description' of the rights of the zamīndārs under the Mughals, and the changes in caste-composition of the class until the 19th century. The growth of armed power of the zamīndārs, and its role in Nawābī Awadh are also studied.

The jāgīr system was an essential **element of Mughal** agrarian administration. Its nature and functions are examined in detail on the basis of local documents. (Chapter VII). The breakdown of the jāgīr system led to the evolution of the taʿalluqdārī system, which is often considered a special institution of Awadh (Chapter VIII).

The revenue grantees formed a relatively minor segment of agrarian society; but their conditions are illuminec by exceptionally extensive documentation. Moreover, their rights tended to become hereditary from the closing days of the Mughal Empire. Chapter IX presents evidence relating tc this class.

The Awadh Kingdom during its later days displayed considerable agrarian instability. It is argued in Chapter X that this was due not so much to its own intrinsic faults (which were, of course, not insignificant) as to the interference of British authorities which nullified the king's power almost totally. As a result, the cycle of disorder and suppression became endemic, until it was presented as a justification for the Annexation.

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This is to certify that the thesis, "Agrarian Conditions of Awadh Under The Mughals and Nawab-Wazirs; 1595-1856" submitted by Saiyid Zaheer Husain Jafri is the original research work of the candidate and is suitable for submission to the examiners and consideration for award of the Ph.D. degree.

(Irfan Habib)
Supervisor

C O N T E N T S

A C K N O W L E D G E M E N T S

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I am beholden to all my teachers, especially Dr. Shireen Moosvi who helped me a lot in respect of a number of calculations and understanding of statistical data. Dr.I.A.Zilli and Dr.Iqbal Husain were kind enough to help me decipher a number of multiliated Persian documents,

which I got photo-copied from various libaries and Archives. Mr. Muhammad Azam Qasmi, constantly encouraged my research persuits. Mr. Faiz Habib was good enough to draw the maps included in the thesis. Mr. Zahoor A.Khan very kindly gave some final touches to them.

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(SAIYID ZAHEER HUSAIN JAFRI)

ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations have been employed in the thesis:

Agrarian System	...	Irfan Habib, Agrarian System of Mughal India, Bombay, 1963.
Bilgiram	...	Bilgiram Documents
Butter	...	Donald Butter, Outlines of the Topography and Statistics of the Southern Districts of Oudh and Sultanpur Contonment, Culcutta, 1838.
Benett	...	W.C.Benett, A Family History of the Chief Clans of Ray Bareilly District, Lucknow, 1870.
C.R.	...	Culcutta Review.
CEHI	...	Cambridge Economic History of India, Vol.I, Cambridge,1982 (ed.) Irfan Habib & T.R.Chaudhery; Vol.II (ed.) Dharma Kumar.
Elliott	...	C.A.Elliott, Chronicles of Oanao, Allahabad, 1862.
FM	...	Firangi Mahal Documents
IESHR	...	Indian Economic and Social History Review.
IHR	...	Indian Historical Review.
IHRC	...	Indian Historical Records Commission

Jais	...	Jais Documents.
Khairābād	...	Khairābād Documents.
KKC	...	Khangāh Karimia Collection, Salon, Rae Bareli (U.P.).
JESHO	...	Journal of the Economic & Social History of the Orient.
NAI	...	National Archives of India, New Delhi.
NM	...	Muzzaffar Husain Khan, Nama-i-Muzzaffari, 2 vols. Kanpur, 1917.
LUL	...	Lucknow University Library.
PIHC	...	Proceedings of Indian History Congress.
RAA	...	Regional Archives Allahabad.
Sleeman	...	W.H.Sleeman, A Journey Through the Kingdom of Oudh, London, 1858.
UPSAL	...	Uttar Pradesh State Archives, Lucknow.

V

INTRODUCTORY NOTE ON SOURCES

Awadh was a region of the Mughal Empire which is greatly in need of a special monograph to itself. Its subsequent history as a state under the subsidiary system, down to the annexation (1856) makes it additionally interesting, since its administration and internal conditions are continuously illumined by the reports of British officials and others. Its agrarian system - particularly the institution of 'ta'alluqadārī tenures' - came into time light with the Mutiny and Canning's proclamation. And yet, a continuous history of pre-British agrarian system in Awadh from the time of the Āīn-i Akbari to the annexation is lacking despite the rich documentry material preserved at various research libraries and archives.

The earliest possible initial point for any agrarian history of Awadh can only be the statistical and topographical information contained in Abul Fazl's Āīn-i Akbari (completed 1598). In the chapters entitled, Āīn-i Nozdahsālā, first we get the crop-wise revenue rates from 6th R.Y. to 24th R.Y. of Akbar for the province; and then in the Āīn-i Dahsālā, there are final rates for each locality (dastūr-circle) within the sūba. In yet another chapter, 'Account of the Twelve sūba', there is not only a geographical description of the province, but in a separate statistical table information is provided for measured area (ārāzi),

estimated revenue (*naqdi/jama'*), *suyurghāl* (amount alienated in grants) caste of the *zamindārs* and the number of their retainers (infantry and cavalary separately stated). The *Ain* stands unique for in the Mughal period at least it had no successor.

Subsequent to *Ain*, we have a number at *Dastūr-ul 'amals*, prepared during the 17th and early 18th centuries providing summary statistics and seldom give *pargana*-wise revenue and area figures.

The printed Persian chronicles of the Mughal period such as Abul Fazl's *Akbarnāma* or Lāhori's *Bādhshāhnāma* or Kāzim's *'Ālamgirnāma* provide only sporadic information about Awadh, referring to some appointments or to rebellions or expeditions. Similar facts can be extracted from the *Akhbārāt-e Darbār-Mu'alla* of Aurangzeb's reign. These sources help in identification of a number of officials referred in various *Inshā'* collections and other documents.

Another class of sources consists of collections of letters (*inshā'*) such as the *Inshā-e Roshan Kalām*, *Mansūr-ul Maktūbāt* and *Ausāf-i Āsaf*. Their evidence relate to the *zamindār*'s rebellion, conditions of Law and order, relations of the *zamindār* with the *jāgirdār*, with some occasional references to the working of the *jāgir* system and collection of land-revenue.

The historical accounts of nawābi Awadh are fewer in number and with some exeptions, they are loaded with political history, and little useful information could be exacted for the purpose of agrarian history. The typical representative of this class in Ghulam Ali Naqvi's ʿImādus-Sa'ādat.

A valuable account of the administration of Awadh kingdom exists in the Mīrāt-ul Auzā, having been penned down by a court Waqā-ʿe nigār Lalji during the decade of annexation.[1] Since the author felt that the details of administration which might lead to the ruin of the kingdom might not be well received, he kept it secret. Valuable information pertaining to the revenue system, methods of revenue realization and the armed power of the ta'ālluqadārs is provided.

The most important sources of information lie in archival material consisting of farmāns, parwānas, sanads, mahzars (statement of the facts) chaknāmās (land demercation papers), sale-deeds, judicial decisions etc. Most of them relate to the 17th and 18th centuries, and a few to the 16th. The repositories of these collections are the Research Library, Centre of Advanced Study in History, AMU; the Central Record Office Allahabad; National Archives of India, New Delhi; and Tagore Library, Lucknow University.

The printed works in English, are indispensable for any study of the agrarian life of Awadh during the first half of the 19th century. The outstanding source for us is the important survey by Donald Butter of the Southern parts of Awadh. Though Butter does not explicitly refer to use of official documents of the Awadh government, his detailed survey was hardly possible without some cooperation by local officials. His account appears a little biased against the Awadh government and he offers severe comments, which are not always well grounded. We find him sharing the views of other British officials, that if Awadh was annexed to the British dominions, the people would be better off.[1] Butter, howevers, offers valuable details of crops, agricultural production, implements, towns, markets and topographical informations.

Charles Elliott's Chronicles of Oonao, deals exclusively with the history of the zamindār families of Unao, particularly the Bias clan, down to 1861. The author consulted large numbers of documents in the hands of leading zamindār families and local traditions. It contains useful informations about the revenue farming and the financial administration of the district. But surprisingly he shows

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1. Butter, pp. 50-1.

little concern with purely economic matters such as the state of agriculture, crop pattern and trade etc.

Among the travellers' accounts, the most important are those of Heber and Sleeman. Bishop Reginald Heber visited Awadh in 1824, and had some pre-concived notions,[1] but he revised these after he made his personal observation[2] and also appears to have acquired some sympathy with the nawabi regime. Indeed he blames the non-cooperative attitude of the company's officials for the anarchy and misrule of the kingdom.[3] His judgement about the peoples is the opposite of that of Butter, "they prefer to be governed by their native nawabs rather than to be placed under the rule of the company.[4]

W.H.Sleeman's diary of the tour of Awadh which he made from December 1849 to February 1850 in now a celebrated historical text. He was then Resident at Lucknow, and the tour was made to supplement the report which he had presented earlier to Lord Dalhousie.[5] To him the basic fault in the

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1. "We have heard much of the mis-govorned and desolate state of the kingdom of Oude." Ibid., Vol.I,p.41.

2. "I have been pleased, however and surprised, after all which I have heard of Oude, to find the country so completely under plough, since were the oppression regreat as is sometimes stated, I can not think that we should witness so considerable population, "Ibid., p.49.
3. Ibid., pp. 85-6.
4. Ibid., pp. 82-3, p.90.
5. P.D.Reeves (ed.) Sleeman in Oudh, Cambridge, 1971, See introduction, p. 13.

political set-up of the kingdom lay 'in the lack of effective Central government and the 'maladministration' which followed from it.[1] Some of Sleeman's observations must be judged in the context of this explicit bias.

Whatever the reasons behind the compilation of Sleeman's diary, it still stands as a treasure, house of facts relating to crops, agriculture, local administration etc. *zamindārs*, *ta'ālluqadārs* and *chakledārs* find frequent mention in diary, and this help us to form an idea of their power and importance.

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1. *Ibid.*

CHAPTER - I

THE GEOGRAPHICAL SETTING

(i) The Natural Environment

The Mughal province of Awadh extended over the territory entirely consisting of alluvial plains, lying between 79.6° and 84° longitude E. and 26° and 28.4° latitude N. The limits of the *ṣūba* are described by Abul Fazl in his ' Account of Twelve Provinces' It was bounded on the east by the province of Bihar and to the north lay the Northern mountains; *sarkār* Manikpur of *ṣūba* Allahabad was situated on the south of the province, while on the western side was *sarkār* of Kannuj of *ṣūba* Agra. The distance from the limits of *sarkār* Gorakhpur to Kannuj was computed at 135 *kos*; while only 115 *kōs* were said to separate the northern mountains and the southern boundary of the *ṣūba*.[1]

To some extent, the boundaries of the *ṣūba* took into account the physical features of the Upper Gangetic plains. Besides the Himalayan barrier to the north, the river Ganges separated it from the Mughal province of Agra and the river Sarju fixed the boundary line between *sarkār* Gorakhpur of Awadh and *sarkār* Jaunpur of *ṣūba* Allahabad.

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1. Abul Fazl, *Āin-i Akbari* ed. Blockmann, Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1867-77, Volume II, p.78.

A number of rivers and their tributaries flowed through the province. Abul Fazl lists four principal rivers traversing the plains of the province. These were the Sarju, Ghaghra, Sai and Godi /Gomti/.[1] But this list is a very short one. Butter lists the Ganges, Deoha /Ghaghra/ Gomti, Sai, Tons and Lon rivers as the main water channels of the southern districts of Awadh alone. The distinguishing features of each of these rivers are well described by him.[2] The Ganges and Deoha had a low bed with an average width of four miles, and alterations occured in the channels almost annually so much so that within a span of four or five years the rivers considerably shifted their courses. Compared to these rivers, the smaller rivers had almost fixed narrow channels and little change occured in their courses. Few of these rivers had depth enough to avoid overflow even during the rainy season. The banks of these rivers were made up of high kankar ridges making them navigable, but it was noticed that as a result of the diminishing of these ridges during the summer, the depth of the rivers was adversely affected. Butter thought it a duty of the government of nawāb-wazīrs to clear out debris of such fallen ridges to keep the streams navigable.

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1. Ibid.
2. Donald Butter, Outlines of the Topography and Statistics of the Southern Districts of Oudh, and the contonment of Sultanpur, Calcutta 1839, pp.10-14.

In importance the river Gumti, though much smaller, was next only to Ganges and Deoha. Its right bank was made up of solid kankar giving the appearance of a mountainous range, while the left bank was low and sandy to the maximum extent of 3 miles it was an arid waste. Beyond this zone the soil was quite fertile. The water was unfit for drinking because it was heavily loaded with yellowish clay. Fish abounded in all seasons. At some places, the Sai was as bread as the Gumti, but had only half of its depth. The Sai could accommodate boats of 300 mounds during rainy season, but because of its zig-zag course, it was avoided by navigators in favour of the Ganges and Gumti.

The Tons had its source in the Deoha, being essentially an arm of that river. It was shallow, and little navigation could be carried through it. The small river Lon flowed in the north-western portions of Awadh rising near Shahabad. It joined river Sai near Rae Bareli. During the summer it was of no consequence.

An important feature of the natural geography of Awadh in the 16th-18th centuries was the presence of large forest belts. It is possible to map the main forest tracts by drawing upon diverse sources.[1] We find that the Terai forest spread between the city of Gorakhpur and the Himalyan range, as shown

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1. Among the Indian works, only the Haft Iqlim seems to refer to forests in Awadh. Cf. Irfan Habib, An Atlas of the Mughal Empire, OUP Delhi, 1982, sheet no. 8A (notes).

in James Rennell's Bengal Atlas (1780). Ghulam Hazrat, in his memoir of the Gorakhpur district (1810) tells us that the city of Gorakhpur was surrounded by forests. He says that the tappa of parganas Anola, Bansi, Silhat, Basti, Maghar and Gorakhpur were desolate owing to the scarcity of peasants, the denseness of jangals and the inroads of the wild elephants. Owing to the depradations of these elephants, the peasants abstained from cultivation of the sugarcane.[1] Francis Buchanan who surveyed the district in 1807 -11 estimated that out of the total area in the district of 7,438 sq. miles, about 1450 sq. miles were covered with forest.[2] Besides these forests, a number of patches studded with bush and long grass were to be found here and there.[3]

Another category of the forests consisted of the jungle situated either on the low land [kachar] or on the higher grounds. These were carefully preserved from clearing by the zamindārs of the area. These offered him a safe place of "asylum from the tyranny and the rapacity of the chakledar."[4]

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1. Mufti Ghulam Hazrat, Kwāif-i-zila' - Gorakhpūr, (1810 A.D.), MS Aligarh Subhan Ullah Collection-954/12, ff. 12a-b.
2. Francis Buchanan, District Reports, (1807-11) edited and abridged by Mantgomery Martin, The History, Antiquities, Topography, anc Statistics of Eastan India, 3 volumes London 1838 ; Indian reprint, 1976, 5 volumes. The survey of Gorakhpur is in Martins Abridgement (Volume II), p.512.
3. Ibid. 513
4. Butter op.cit., p.5

The face of the country was level plain, but river Gumti had cut the soil at some places creating ravines to the depth of 50 ft. These ravines were made use of by the zamindārs who planted trees to create jungles and so made hide outs for themselves. In the midst of these forests every land-holder of consequence used to build mud-forts (garhis) "surrounded by a ditch and dense fence of living bamboos, through which common shot can not penetrate."[1] The chakledārs were always helpless against such fortifications of the zamindārs, as the jangals were too green to be set fire to and "being within the range of match locks from the parapet, they cannot be cut down by the beseiging force."[2] Sleeman laments that such defences could easily be broken down but "Oude force had seldom either the means or the skill for such purpose".[3] Sleeman has listed twenty four belts of forests in the kingdom of Oudh(1850) which were being used by the zamindārs to challenge the authority of the government officials. They were spread in all parts of the kingdom, and it was computed that about 886½ sq. miles of area were covered by such forests.[4] Sleeman offers us the figures for the estimated area under forest in the districts of the Awadh

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1. W.H.Sleeman, A Journey through the Kingdom of Oudh during 1849-50, 2 volumes, London, 1858, volume II,pp
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.

kingdom in square miles.[1]

TABLE

Chakla /District/	Forested area /in sq.miles/
1. Sultanpur	279 sq. miles
2. Uldemau	102 sq. miles
3. Daruabad	76 sq. miles
4. Dewa-Jahangirabad	64 sq. miles
5. Bangar	72 sq. miles
6. Salon	72 sq. miles
7. Bainswara	30 sq. miles
8. Hydergarh	7½ sq. miles
9. Khyrabad Muhammadi	150 sq. miles
10. Baree and Muchreyta	30 sq. miles
TOTAL :	888½ sq. miles

The mud forts or the Garhis situated in these belts were said to number about 633.[2]

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1. Ibid.
2. Foreign Consultation Number 136/52 dated 31 August 1856, National Archives of India, New Delhi, Cf. A.A.Azmi, "Ta'alluqadars in the kingdom of Awadh, 1814-56". Paper presented at the session of Indian History Congress, (Allahabad Session,1965), but only its summary was published in the Proceedings(page 323). For details, see the cyclostyled paper, p.16.

In order to increase revenue, and, perhaps, remove the *zamindārs'* hide -outs the clearing of the forests for the purpose of cultivation was generally encouraged by the government. A number of incentives were given to the peasants for carrying the work of reclamation. Forest-land was lightly assessed by the revenue officials of the *Nawab Vazirs* "free for the first year of occupancy, charged at only two *anna* per *bigha*, the second year, four *anna* the third year, six *anna*, the fourth year and fifth year, ten *anna*; beyond which, as an encouragement to the settlers the rent is never raised."[1] In these lands the irrigation facilities were available abundantly as the water-table was found just at the depth of 10 feet, and wells and tanks could be dug quite easily. Butter describes the destruction of a *Dhiul jangal* which was twenty miles in length and eight miles broad, situated between Niwurdipur and Manikpur.[2]

However, due to the unremitting destruction of the forest, adverse affacts were produced on the general climate. Butter thought that the annual average rainfall declined and the water-table went down, thus creating difficulties for irrigation. This situation could have certainly been controlled by a "systematic artificial planting to counteract the parching effects produced by the removal of these natural protectors of the soil."[3]

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1. Butter, pp. 7-8.
2. *Ibid*., p. 7.
3. *Ibid*., p.48.

But reclamation continued unabated. The agricultural statistics of 1885-6 show no forest area in those districts where, as we have Sleeman estimates, forest areas of 888½ sq. miles. It may be assumed, then, that by 1885-6 such extensive tracts of forest comprising about half a million acres had come under cultivation.[1]

Wild animals found their way in these deep and long streches of green-belts. The *tarāi* forest of *sarkār* Gorakhpur was famous for containing numerous elephants, a menace to cultivation.[2] Tigers too were found in great number between the city of Gorakhpur and the mountains, and before the cession of this territory to English their number was still larger. After 1801 due to forest clearing operations, a good many of them were hunted down by English civilians as well as the military officers. These animals lived so largely on cattle that in the year 1769, the year of great famines, most of 'herbivorous animals' perished and so the tigers were famished.[3] The tigers in a large hoard fell upon the town of Bhewapor, and within no time killed about 400 of its inhabitants. The town remained deserted for a long period.

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1. *Agricultural Statistics of British India*, 1885-6, Calcutta.
2. Ghulam Hazrat, *Kwāif-i-Gorakhpūr*, f. 9a.
3. Martin, *op.cit.*, vol. II, p.500

Wolves and Jackals, too, were very common in these forests, posing a constant threat to the peasants as well as the domestic animals.[1] The wolf was quite a menace in the southern districts of Awadh when Butter compiled his survey. He says that they carried away a number of children from the small bāzār attached to the Cantonment of Sultanpur. Superstition among the native population precluded their being killed; and their dens were observable along the sides of the 'ravines' throughout the country.[2]

Whether any change in climate occurred in the course of the two hundred and fifty years is a matter on which the information available is rather slight. In 1838 Butter was convinced of a "great change in the climate"[3] by which he perhaps meant a decline in rainfall. Butter has appended tables showing the diminishing pattern of the rabi as well as the kharīf crops. At the time of his writing the report (1836 A.D.) even the 'produce in a good year' was much less than what it was 'before the great change in the climate'.[4]

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1. Ibid.
2. Ibid. p. 56.
3. Ibid. p. 18.
4. Ibid.

T A B L E [1]

(I) Kharif crops, sown in the Rainy Season

	Name of the crop	Sers of seeds per bigha	mans of produce in a good year	mans of produce in a bad year	Former produce in mans
1.	Kooo	4	10 to 12	4 or 5	16 or 17
2.	Makra	4	8 to 9	2 or 3	10 or 11
3.	Sanwa	3	8	2 or 3	10 or 12
4.	Asahan kharif	30	15	8 or 9	20

(II) Rabi crops, sown in the cold season

1.	Chana	30	14 or 15	5 to 8	18 to 20
2.	Genhun	50	14 or 15	7 or 8	20 to 25
3.	Jau	40	20 to 22	10to 13	20 to 25

The average annual rainfall in Awadh according to him followed very irregular pattern. At the same time it was 'steadily decreasing on an average of 5 or 6 inches a year'.[2] Butter attributed such a change to the destruction of the 'sylan vesture' by the

1. Ibid., pp.57-58. The tables contain information about a number of other crops, but entries are provided against the last column only for the crops listed in our table.

2. Ibid., p. 16.

peasants in order to bring more land under the cultivation. It was predicted that the country was under the slow but definite process of becoming 'barren ravines' as there were no forests left 'to ward off' the 'fierce rays of the sun' and 'dew deposition' thus creating 'springs of running water'. The green belts of the region had detained water in meshes, but such land was now 'ploughed into barren ravines'. As a result the province lost "its springs and perennial streamlets... ...... the distance of water from the earth increased - and its rain-falls, and the volume of its rivers diminished."[1]

The accompanying map drawn to show the isohytes clearly projects that the annual average rainfall of the province ranges from 54.7 inches to 25 inches.[2] It tends to be heavier as we move towards north-west, and lighter as we go west ward. Butter in 1836 estimated the average annual rainfall in Southern Awadh at between "70 to 30 inches within a period of four months in duration; but is, on an average of five or six years, steadily decreasing."[3]

The soil of the province was composed of different varieties. On occasions, it contained siliceous and calcoreous earth, the latter in the form of <u>kankar</u> which occurred in the

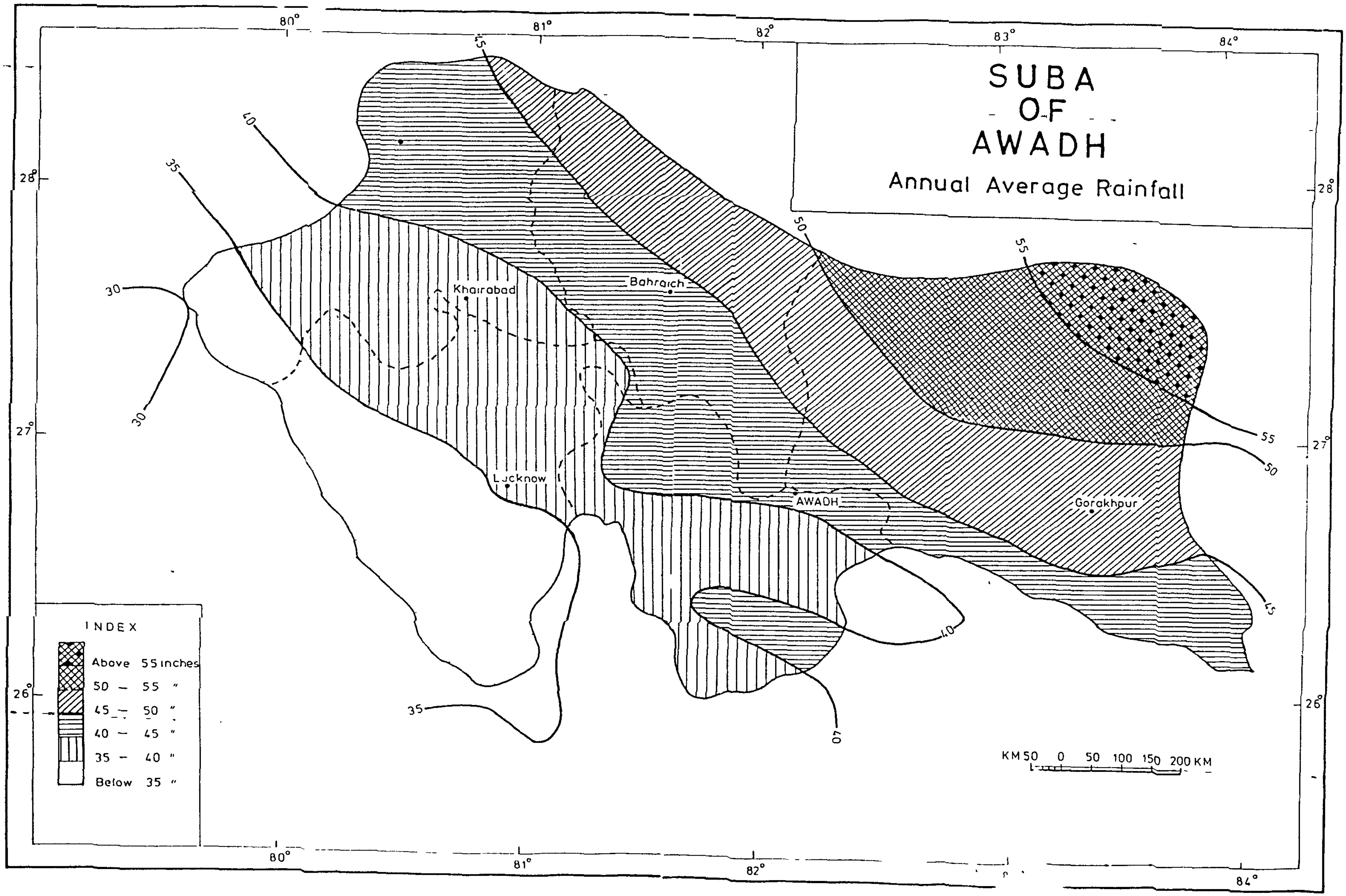
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1. Butter, p.9.
2. Albert T.Walker, Memoirs of the Indian Meteorological Department (from Records upto 1920), vol.XXIII,pt.VII Calcutta, 1924.
3. Butter, p.16.

limited horizontal layers at a depth of six to eight feet. The *kankar* ridges were generally found along the right banks of rivers.[1] At many places *kankar* constituted the surface of the soil as well. The sites of the 'priemeval forests of Oudh' and the regions between Ganges and Deoha had the rich and dark soil. In the southern districts of Awadh, the soil of *pargana* Salon, Jayis, Rampur and Manikpur was judged as the best and very productive in different varieties of the grain.[2]

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1. *Ibid.*, pp. 25-6.
2. *Ibid.*, p.27.


SUBA
OF
AWADH
Annual Average Rainfall
INDEX
Above 55 inches
50 — 55 "
45 — 50 "
40 — 45 "
35 — 40 "
Below 35 "
KM 50 0 50 100 150 200 KM
Khairabad
Bahraich
Lucknow
AWADH
Gorakhpur
80°
81°
82°
83°
84°
28°
27°
26°
30
35
40
45
50
55

(ii) Administrative Divisions

The Mughal province of Awadh came into being in the year 1580, when Akbar superseded the earlier divisions of the Lodi Sultans to make his own administrative arrangements.[1] This set up entailed the formation of provinces (*sūbas*) with sub-divisions, continuing under the older name of *sarkārs*. Each *sarkār* contained a number of *parganas*. All the *sarkārs* now included in *sūba* Awadh are listed by Bābur in his list of Lodi *sarkārs*, but with Lucknow as Lakhnau-and-Balkar, and Gorakhpur as Saruar.[2]

The limits of the new territorial divisions were determined by a number of considerations, not all based on physical geography. C.A. Elliot, in his account of Onao district, found that the *pargana* boundaries were traced in most irregular fashion, being determined by the proprietary rights of individual clans which formed the basis for fixing the limits of the *mahāls*.[3]

The total number of the *parganas* included in the *sūba*, as stated in *Ā'in*,[4] is 138, but those actually listed come to 133 *pargana* only. Subsequent to the period when *Ā'in* was written,

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1. Abul Fazl, *Akbarnāma*, Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1873-78, vol.III, p.412.
2. Babur, *Bāburnāma*: English translation by A.S.Beveridge, London, 1921, vol.II, p.521.
3. Charles Alfered Elliott, *Chronicles of Oonao*, Allahabad, 1862, p.149 and notes.
4. Abul Fazl, *Ā'in-i Akbari*, vol.II, pp.78-80.

many changes occurred in the internal administrative units of the sarkārs, many new parganas were constituted so as to raise the number of the total mahāls in each sarkār. Sometime during the 17th century, pargana Kant in sarkar Budaun of sūba Delhi being transferred to sarkār Khairabād. But except for this minor adjustment between the limits of sūba Delhi and Awadh, the territorial limits of the Mughal province of Awadh seem to have remained intact.[1]

Within the sūba the sarkārs were subject to change, though the changes were perhaps not many. One change was merely of nomenclature. Sarkār Gorakhpūr was renamed Mu'azzamabad Gorakhpur after Prince Mu'azzam.[2] The tappa of pargana Pali was made a full-fledged pargana by the name Shahabad.[3]

The number of parganas in each of the five sarkārs went on changing. A list showing such changes is worth giving:-

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1. See Add. 6586, f. 95a.
2. tappa Shahabad included in pargana Pali was assigned to Diler Khan Afghan in his al-tamgha jāgir by Emperor Aurangzeb in 1662(the text of the farmān has been reproduced by Muzaffar Husain Khan, Nama-i Muzaffari,2 vols. Mujtabai Press Kanpur,1917(vol.I,pp.174-9),but in 1686, we find in a sanad,Shahabad has been styled a separate pargana.Ibid.I,p.266.See also Add.6586,f.95a.
3. Add. 6586, f.94a.

TABLE

The changing number of maḥāls in various sarkār of Awadh province

	sarkār Awadh	sarkār Gorakhpūr	sarkār Bahraich	sarkār Khairabād	sarkār Lucknow	Period	Source
1.	21	24	11	22	55	1595	Ā'in-Akbari vol.II,p.78
2.	21	31	11	24	55	c.1656	Add.6598, ff.118b-19a.
3.	21	35	12	25	56	c.1720	Add.6586, f. 96b.
4.	21	34	12	24	57	c.1721	Chahār Gulshan (MS Abdus-Salam ff.80b-81a.

Awadh remained a relatively trouble-free province of the Empire throughout the 17th century. But things began to change during the second quarter of the 18th century, when Burhanul Mulk Sa'ādat Khan was appointed the governor of the sūba in 1722 A.D. With the general deterioration and slackening of central control, Burhanul Mulk (d. 1739) and later on his two immediate successors Abul Manṣūr Ṣafdar Jang (1739-56) and Shuja'uddaulah (1756-75) were able to assert their independence from imperial control. However, this was a slow process. In 1739, Sa'ādat Khan joined the imperial forces to face Nādir Shah. Ṣafdarjang and Shuja'ud-

daulah formally held the office of wizārat, and a number of other important posts under the Mughal emperors. The designation of Nawāb-wazīr was applied to them and to their successors, atleast till 1814, when Ghaziuddin Hyder designated himself King.

Attempts were made by the nawāb-wazīrs to get more and more area included under their jurisdiction. By 1728, their area of influence was pushed further east by the inclusion of fertile regions of Benaras, Ghazipūr, Jaunpūr and Chunargarh.[1] The western borders of Awadh kingdom were extended upto Kannuj by the use of armed power against the hereditary Rajput chiefs.[2] In 1735, Saādat Khan in addition to his duties, was invested with the faujdāri jurisdiction of sarkār Kora Jahānābād to crush the activities of the rebel zamindār Bhagwant Singh, who was ultimately killed in a closely contested battle.[3]

Emperor Ahmad Shah conferred upon Safdarjang the office of the wizārat, and assigned him the province of Ajmer in 1748, but the wazīr exchanged his new assignment with sūba Allahabad, which was contiguous to the province of

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1. Essentially these area lay in the jāgīr of one Murtaza Khan, who had leased them out to nawāb for a a payment of Rs.7 lakhs per annum. AL Srivastava, The first Two Nawabs of Oudh, Lucknow 1933, pp.44-5.

2. Ibid., p.46.

3. Ibid., pp.49-51.

Awadh; and he now established a hereditary claim over it.[1] The next important addition to the territorial limits of Awadh was made in 1774, when Shuja'uddaulah with the help of East India Company annexed Rohilkhand, much of which formally belonged to <u>sūba</u> Delhi. In addition Etawah was also controlled by him.

From the point of view of the extent, maximum limits were attained by the kingdom under Shuja'uddaulah. It comprised the Mughal province of Awadh, and much of the province of Allahabad (barring, of course, the Bundelkhand region), Rohilkhand and mid Gangetic Doab including Etawah.[2] This compact region bordered the Himalyan <u>tarai</u> in the north, the Upper course of river Gandhak in the north-east, the river Son to the south, and the Yamuna in the south-west. In 1764-65, Shuja'ud daulah joined the armies of Shah 'Alam II and Mir Qasim in an unsuccessful attempt to invade Bihar and Bengal. After the defeat at Buxar and then at Jajmau, Shuja'uddaulah was compelled to seek terms. Although he was permitted to continue as a ruler of the Mughal <u>sūbas</u> of Awadh and Allahabad, certain areas (notably Allahabad) were transferred to Shah Alam II. The appointment of the English Resident in 1773 and the deployment of various contingents of British forces in the Ruheela war, whereby Shuja'uddaulah was able to annex Rohilkhand, made the kingdom of Oudh one of the

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1. Ibid., pp. 128, 260.
2. AL Srivastava, <u>Shuja'uddaulah</u>, vol.II, Lahore, 1945, pp. 312-3.

What's new?

first subsidiary-alliance states in India well before Lord Wellesley.

After the death of Shuja'uddaulah, the situation underwent important changes. A new treaty was concluded with his successor Asafuddaulah in 1775. Now the amount of subsidy imposed on Awadh was increased, the zamindār of Ghazipur was asked to pay the tribute to Company instead of nawāb, and the entire region of Benaras was ceded to the Company. Later, in default of payment of the subsidies, the fort of Allahabad (which had been earlier retransferred from Shah 'Alam to Shuja' uddaulah) was annexed by the English.

Asafuddaulah died in 1797, and this provided an opportunity to the Company to conclude a new treaty with his successors, first with Wazir 'Ali and then with Sa'adat Ali Khan (1798-1814). The treaty, concluded in 1801, marks the watershed in the history of relations of the Company with Awadh. Under this treaty the broken crescent formed by Rohilkhand, Farrukhabad, Kara, Kora, Etawah, Fatehgarh, Kalpi, Gorakhpur and 'Azamgarh, yielding an annual revenue of Rupees 1,35,00,000, was ceded by Awadh to the East India Company.

The limits of Awadh from 1801 A.D. onwards down to its annexation (1856) remained more or less fixed. The principality was bounded on the North and North-East by Nepal; on the East

by the British district of Gorakhpūr; on the south-East by British district Allāhābād; on the south-west by the Doab including the British districts of Fatehpūr, Kanpūr, and Farukhabad and on the north-west by Shahjahanpur. These new limits extended from latitude 29°6 to 25°34, and from longitude 79°45 to 83°. The total area was computed at 23,923 square miles.[1]

With the treaty of 1801, Nawab Sa'ādat Ali Khan once more felt that he was the ruler of what territories were left under his control. He started with vigour and enthusiasm to streamline the administration and to introduce the new revenue system. The arrangements entailed a reorganisation of the older administrative divisions by dividing Awadh into nizāmats and chaklās.[2] Of the five Mughal sarkārs, Gorakhpur had been ceded to the Company. Sarkār Bahraich was now too small a unit to continue as a separate division, hence Gonda was added to create the Gonda-Bahraich nizāmat. The limits of the old sarkār Awadh, broadly corresponded to the boundaries of the Sultanpur-Fyzabad nizāmat, and sarkār Khairabād was divided into Khairabad nizāmat and chaklā Shah Rah comprising : ' parganas

1. Butter, op.cit. p.1; Masihuddin Ahmad, Oude: Its Princes and its Government Vindicated, London 1857; reprinted as British Aggression in Awadh by Safi Ahmad, Merrut, 1969, p.2 Walter Hamilton, East India Gazetteer of Hindostan and adjacent countries, London, 1828, vol.I, pp.348-9.

2. Butter, op.cit., pp.97-9; CA Elliott says that in Oude fou large districts, Bahraich, Khairabād, Sultanpur and Bainswa were called nizāmat, while the smaller ones like Dareeabad, Sandi, Sandila, Meanganj and Rosulabad were called chakla. op.ci p.131(n).

Sandeelah, Sandee, Palee, Shahabad and Bangarmau. Later on the chaklā ~~wa~~ of Shah Rah was placed under the jurisdiction of two chakledārs, having their headquarters at Sandee and Sandeelah. Sarkār Lucknow was completely broken up; the Bainswara division was made a separate nizāmat consisting of a number of chaklas namely Hyderqurh, Rae Bareili, Purwa, Meangunj and Rasoolabad.[1]

The chaklās were put under the over all charge of the chakledārs or nāzims, while the smaller units were looked after by the faujdār and the diwān, receiving Rs.25/= and Rs.15/= each respectively as their salaries.[2] While the chakledārs had no fixed salary, "the difference between the sum, which he has for the year engaged to pay into the public treasury, and the amount, which, with the military power of the state at his command, he can levy from the zamindārs constituted his official income".[3]

Butter, writing in 1836, gives the following list of chaklās in Awadh.[4]

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1. C.A. Elliott, op.cit. pp. 131-32.
2. Butter, op.cit. p.99
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., pp. 97-8.

1. Sultanpur was made up of 6 parganas
2. Aldemau had 5 parganas
3. Partapgarh had only 3 parganas
4. Pachhimrath also had 3 parganas only
5. Bainswara contained the largest number, i.e. 13 pargan
6. Salon had 4 parganas
7. Ahladgunj too had 4 parganas
8. Gonda-Bahraich was divided into 5 parganas.
9. Khairabad again contained the largest number, i.e. 13 parganas
10. Sandee had 4 parganas
11. Rasulabad was divided in 5 parganas
12. Lucknow was made up of 5 parganas.

However, sometimes during the last days of Awadh regime, the above arrangements, too, were changed, and while retaining a few previous divisions, new units were created for the purpose of revenue administration. The names of the new administrative division have not been provided by our authorities.[1]

No further details about the number of the parganas included in the new unit are available. It cannot be said as to when the administrative unit described by Butter where superseded in favour of the new arrangements.

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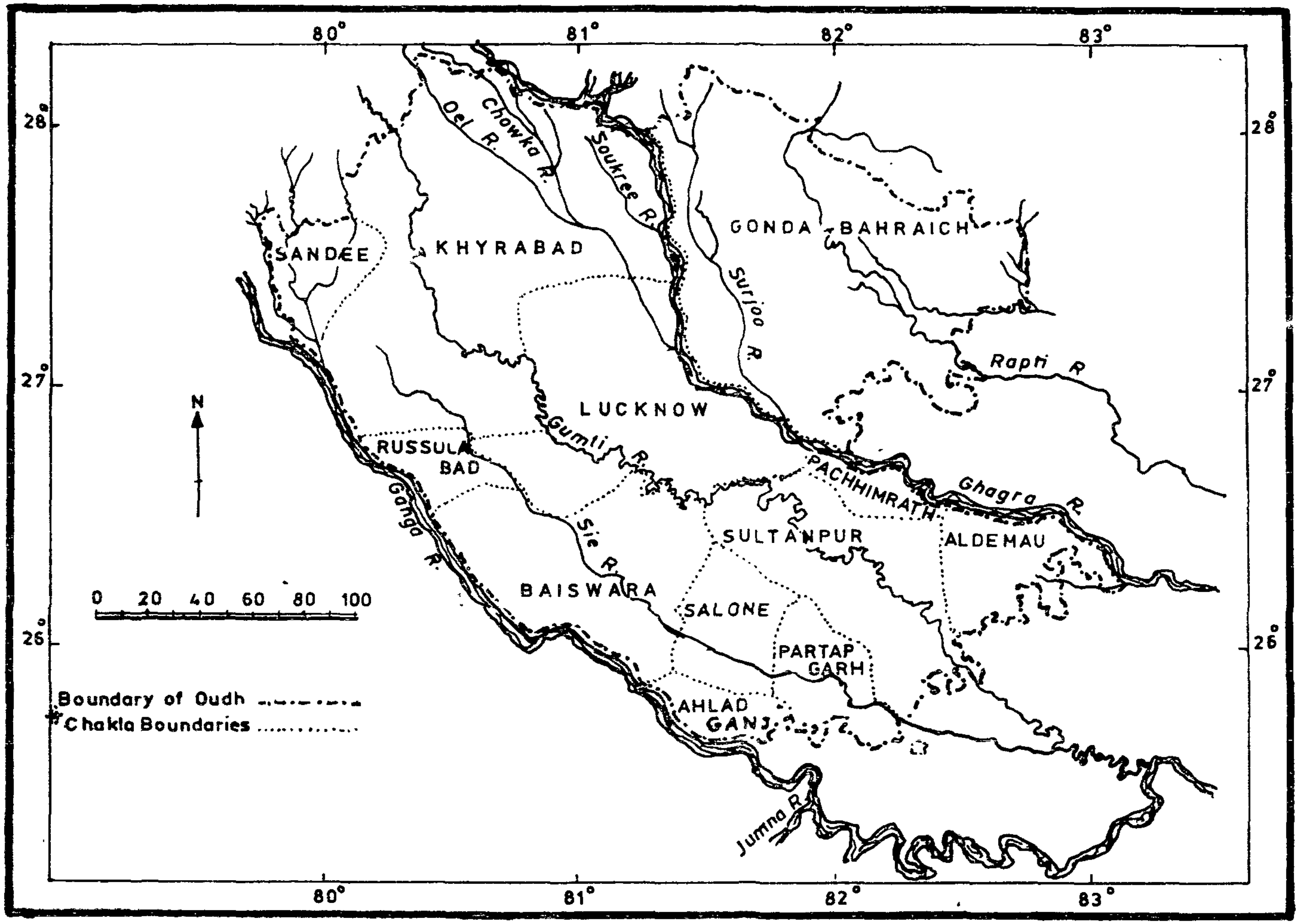
1. "The fiscal divisions [in Awadh] are arbitrary. Mr. Mad Lock in 1831 shewed 24, Dr. Butter in 1837 twelve; we have before us a list of 25 large and small districts, obtaining during the present year". CF. 'The Kingdom of Oudh' Calcutta Review, 1845(part III), pp.386-7.

AWADH – c. 1595



80°
81°
82°
83°
84°
28°
27°
26°
KHAIRABAD
BAHRAICH
AWADH
LUCKNOW
GORAKHPUR
AWADH
Kherigach
Sujauli
Bharwara
Paila
Kheri
Basara
Barwar
Firuzabad
Nawagarh
(Tambaur)
Dugaon
(Salonabad)
Behra
Sultanpur
Rajhat
Dang Dun
Horgam
Laharpur
Ankhal
(Shahabad)
(Pihani)
Pali
Sara
Gopamau
Chhitapur
(Sitapur)
Khairabad
Ramkot
Biswa
(Biswan)
Sadarpur
Machhrehta
Bahraich
Fakhrpur
Hardoi
Bawan
Sandi
Nimkhar
Bahrimau
(Pirnagar)
Bori
Khohkalnou
Bilaram
Gadi (Gomi) R
Manwan
Fatehour
Sailuk
Husampur
Bhitauli
Mahona
Kursi
Sihali
Dewi
(Dewa)
Sandila
Mallawa
(Mallanwan)
Gang R
Sai R
Malihabad
Mandiaon
Kakor
Bangarmau
Asiwan
Fatehpur Chaurasi
Saipur (Safipur)
Mohan
Lucknow
Satrikh
Ibrahimabad
Amethi
Balkar Bijlaur
Sidhaur
Doryabad
Basorhi
Rudauli
Guwarich
Ghagar (a) R
Saru or Sarju R
Khuronsa
(Khurasa)
Babhon-para
Rehli
Mangalsi
AWADH
Amorha
Mandwa
Kihlapara
(Aurangabad)
Sarwa
Pali
Jhalotar
(Bijnaur)
Garinda
Sisandi
Asoha
Parsandan
Nigohan
Sarausi
Unao
Sarwan
Unchgaon
Sadauli
Mauranu
Mourawan
Harha
Satanpur
(Satan)
Panhan
Patan
Ghatampur
Sidhupur
Aihar
Nisgar
Subeha
Inhauna
Kishni
Satinpur
(Sathin)
Isauli
Dadra
TO LUCKNOW
Sultanpur
Silahri
Garh Amethi
Bhadaon
Utraula
Rasulpur
Ramgarh-Gauri
Kotehla
Ghosi
(Ghos)
Ratanpur (Bansi)
Rapti R
Binayakpur
Tilpur
Maghar
Gorakhpur
Bhauapara
Mahuli
Unaula
Dariapara
(Dhuriapar)
Katha
(Silhat)
Dewapura
Chillupara
Majhauli

A sketch map showing the major administrative divisions of Awadh, *circa* 1850



* Chakla Boundaries are based on P.D.Reeves' map of Awadh, ibid. P. 303 (F. Habib)

CHAPTER - II

EXTENT OF CULTIVATION AND POPULATION

(i) Cultivation

The study of the agrarian conditions in Awadh should appropriately begin with an attempt to determine the extent of cultivation c.1595 and the subsequent extensions in the area available for the plough down to the extinction of the Awadh kingdom in 1856. These, in the absence of census during the period, are also the only indicators we have of population movements. The statistical accounts of Mughal empire contain valuable information about the total ārāzī and the jama' of each sarkār. An analysis and a comparison of these statistics with data from British-period agricultural statistics may lead to some provisional conclusions.

The interpretation of the figures given under the designation ārāzī in the A'īn has been a matter of controversy among economic historians. Moreland thought that it represented the cultivated area and equated it with the gross-cropped area of modern statistics. He assumed that such area was fully measured by Akbar's time. This assumption led him to argue in favour of an enormous extension in cultivation in Eastern U.P. between c.1600 and c.1900.[1] On the other hand, Irfan Habib

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1. W.H. Moreland, 'Agricultural Statistics of Akbar's Empire' JUPHS, 1919, vol.II, part I, p.16.

thought that, the ārāzi included not only the gross-cropped area, but also current fallow, cultivable waste and some portions of uncultivable waste. This would have the effect of reducing the cultivated extent further, but he also contended that the measurement was complete only in some portions of Akbar's empire, while a very large area remained unsurveyed, notably in the ṣūbas of Awadh and Allahabad.[1] These conclusions have been collaborated by Shireen Moosvi on the basis of other evidence brought together from different regions of the Mughal empire.[2]

The sarkār boundaries and the pargana headquarters of the province of Awadh have been located by Irfan Habib in *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire*. The total area of each sarkār as measured by his maps, and the figures converted into bigha-i Ilāhi may be compared with the ārāzi of the respective sarkārs in the Ā'in.

TABLE - I

	Measured area in bigha-i Ilahi (A)	Map area in bigha-i Ilahi (B)	(A) as % of (B)
i. sarkār Awadh	27,95,946	32,38,466	86.33%
ii. sarkār Lucknow	33,04,905	61,01,995	54.16%
iii. sarkār Bahraich	18,23,435	44,49,800	40.97%
iv. sarkār Khairabād	19,80,714	52,98,558	37.38%
v. sarkār Gorakhpūr	2,44,681	90,97,370	2.68%
TOTAL :	1,01,49,681	2,81,86,198	36.00%

1. Irfan Habib, *Agrarian System*, p.4; *CEHI*, vol.I, pp.163-5
2. Shireen Moosvi, 'The Magnitude of the Land Revenue Demand' *Medieval India-A Miscellany*, vol.IV, p.97.

The exceptionally low ārāzi figure for sarkār Gorakhpūr was mainly due to its bordering upon the Himalyas and the large tracts of tarai forests and other forest belts spread all over that sarkār. Even during the early years of the 19th century, Francis Buchanan informs us that an area of 1450 sq. miles (= 15,45,570 bigha-i Ilāhi) out of a total 7,483 sq.miles (= 79,81,367 bigha-i Ilāhi or 19.36% of the whole was covered with dense forests.[1] Similarly Ghulām Hazrat pointed out c.1810 that the city of Gorakhpur itself was surrounded by "forests on two sides and rivers on two sides."[2] If we exclude the map area and ārāzi figures of sarkar Gorakhpur, the ārāzi of the rest of the sūba of Awadh would rise to as high as 51.88% of the map-area.

The ārāzi statistics of sarkār Gorakhpūr in the Ā'in stand alone; subsequent area records of the Mughal period omit them altogether. However, some idea of the extent of cultivation can be formed by reference to the ratio of jama' to map-area. Since the jama' represented the estimated income from the area available for cultivation, it should be assumed that with an increase in jama' the area available for cultivation should have increased proportionately. Fortunately we possess pargana-wise jama' figures of the Mughal empire in Ethe - 433, 16 parganas

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1. Montgomery Martin, op.cit., vol. II, p.

2. Ghulām Hazrat, op.cit., f. 1a-b.

out of 24 *parganas* of *sarkār* Gorakhpūr in the *Ā'īn* are recorded in this manuscript.[1] Still with these limitations, we can proceed to study the increase in *jama'* of these *parganas* within a period of five decades or so. The table below sets out the *pargana*-wise *jama'* in *sarkār* Gorakhpūr in this MS, with *Ā'īn's* figures as base, = 100.

TABLE - II

1.	Stated total for *sarkār* Mu'azzamabad Gorakhpur	361.52
2.	*Pargana* Utraula	203.58
3.	*Pargana* Unnaula	461.66
4.	*Pargana* Janbhanpura	275.23
5.	*Pargana* Bhauapura	320.71
6.	*Pargana* Tilpur	100.00
7.	*Pargana* Chilaupara	264.56
8.	Rohla	177.50
9.	Rasulpur Ghosi [2 m]	477.32
10.	Gorakhpur ba Haveli or Mu'azzamabad [2 m]	758.36
11.	Mahauli	205.01
12.	Ramgarh Gora	670.86
13.	Mandwa	340.73
14.	Maghar Ratanpur [2 m]	203.31

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1. *Ethe - 433* ff. 106a-124a [for the suba Awadh] Mu'azzamabad Gorakhpur. See ff. 117b-119a. This hitherto unnoticed work contains valuable information on the total *jama'* of the Mughal empire for the

..... f.n. contd. on p.26

similarly from the jama' figures stated in Br. Mus. Add.6586 /c. 1707/ and Chahār Gulshan (c. 1720), it transpires that a constant increase in the total jama' of sarkār Gorakhpūr took place. It can then be assumed quite safety that the area under cultivation should have increased considerably to justify this abnormal increase of jama'.

The table below shows the jama' of Awadh taken down into sarkārs, as given in the Lthe-433, and subsequent documents, indexed to the Ā'īn's figures as = 100.[1] In the last two columns the sarkar-wise arazi figures in the Chahār Gulshan (c.1720) are compared with the A'in's, and then calculated as percentages of map-area.

TABLE - III

sūba / sarkār	Jama' in Lthe-433 c.1656	Jama' in Add. 6586 c.1707	Jama' in Chahār Gulshan	Arāzi in Chahār Gulshan	Arāzi as percentage of map-area in Chahār Gulshan
sūba Awadh	180.72	197.89	161.21	124.80	66.45 %
sarkār Awadh	143.40	147.33	122.30	104.37	90.24 %
sarkār Bahraich	177.20	161.60	104.45	100.48	41.22 %
sarkār Gorakhpūr	361.25	368.25	467.03	-	-
sarkār Lucknow	167.47	197.08	136.59	109.65	59.44 %
sarkār Khairabād	204.01	224.96	187.34	219.52	82.36 %

f.n. contd. from p.25:
close of Shahjahan's reign, alongwith the jama' and hāsil figures of Muhammad Shah's reign. The fact, that it provides pargana-wise jama' (māl and sā'ir separately) makes it quite unique (the other known work containing such detailed information in Br.Mus.Add.6586, but that pertains to c.1707). Dr. Shireen Moosvi has kindly let me use her notes of the manuscript.

1. Summary statistics come down to us from the later part of f.n.contd. on p.27

The fact that the measured area increased substantially during the 17th century is confirmed by the fact that the total number of the villages recorded in Bodleian MS Fraser-86 for the *ṣūba* Awadh is 52,691 while 33,842 villages or 64.22% of the total number of villages were said to be fully measured.

It would seem that it was largely the heavy rain fall that by defining the forest zone, set limits to the cultivated area. *Sarkār* Khairabād had a small *ārāzi* during the 16th century, being 37.58% of the map-area. But forest clearing must have taken place on extensive scale subsequently, as the *ārāzi* reached 82.36% of the map-area by the beginning of Muhammad Shah's reign (1720).

The agricultural statistics of British India which began to be issued in 1884-5 offers us valuable data for comparing the extent of cultivation during the 19th century with that of Akbar's time. For our purposes the figures for 1885-6 are more appropriate as in the figures the current fallows are separately given and not included in cultivable waste as in the

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f.n. contd. from p.26:

Aurangzeb's reign. In these returns, the *zamīn-i paimuda* (measured) land is recorded for all the *sarkārs* of *suba* (except for Gorakhpur) in *bīgha-i daftari* which was 3/5th of *bigha-i Ilāhi* (Cf. Irfan Habib, *op. cit.*, pp.2-3). The above comparison has been made by converting the original figures into *bigha-i Ilāhi* for keeping uniformity of the units. See Fraser-86, ff...

1884-5 figures. *Sarkār*-wise comparison is of course not possible, as the modern figures are for British districts. For this reason, the statistical returns of all those districts situated within the limits of Mughal *ṣūba* Awadh either wholly or in part have been pooled together. The area units (areas) of the modern returns have then been converted into *bigha-i Ilāhi*.

TABLE - IV

Map area and cultivated area in 1885-6

Districts	Map-area in *bigha-i Ilāhi*	Cultivated Area in *bigha-i Ilāhi*	Cultivated as % of map-area
1. Lucknow	10,42,133	6,09,135	58.45 %
2. Unnao	18,57,733	10,88,318	58.77 %
3. Barabanki	18,43,200	12,41,416	67.35 %
4. Sitapur	23,53,066	16,66,666	70.82 %
5. Hardoi	24,38,400	16,35,153	67.70 %
6. Kheri	31,49,386	15,17,840	48.14 %
7. Fyzabad	17,58,933	11,46,583	65.18 %
8. Gonda	28,21,333	15,92,455	56.44 %
9. Bahraich	30,12,266	20,40,091	67.72 %
10. Rae-Bareili	16,68,800	10,13,588	54.32 %
11. Sultanpur	18,14,400	10,26,456	56.57 %
12. Partabgarh	15,55,200	8,43,536	54.23 %
13. Gorakhpur	49,04,640	32,74,066	66.75 %

14. Basti	29,36,320	19,84,300	67.57 %
15. Ballia	12,11,733	5,08,178	41.93 %
16. Pilibhit	14,64,533	7,63,848	52.15 %
17. Farrukhabad	18,33,600	11,67,668	63.68 %
TOTAL	3,78,70,826	2,31,19,322	61.04 %

Compare :

A'in	2,81,86,189	1,01,63,360	36.00 %
Chahār Gulshan		1,26,84,872	66.45 %

The Table shows that the extent of cultivation had dramatically increased in areas of the old sarkār of Gorakhpur (districts Gorakhpur, Gonda and Basti). In the district of Mughal sarkār Khairbād (notably the districts of Sitapur and Hardoi) too, there was notable extension in cultivation, though Kheri still remained backward in cultivation.

It appears safe to assume that the total span of area under cultivation during the 16th century was appreciably high. It ought to have been about 50% of what it was during the 19th century.

It is probable that the extent of cultivation should have been more than 10% less in 1856, the year of annexation,

than it was in 1885-86. Part of this must have been under forest. The presence of forest, alongside rivers and deep ravines and an open plains of South Awadh are described in details by Butter in 1836 and by Sleeman in 1849-50, as we have seen in Section I. Since the Agricultural Statistics of 1885-86 do not show any area under forests in these districts, it may be assumed that these were cleared in the thirty or thirty-five years after 1850; and we may then safely allow a margin of 10% growth in cultivation during this period.

(ii) Population and its Composition:

The next question is to determine the average size of the holdings of the peasants during Akbar's time. Moreland thought it to the cultivated area per capita to have been the same then as three centuries later. On this assumption he went on to estimate the population of Akbar's empire from 'Multan to Monghyr.'[1] On the contrary Irfan Habib argued that, given the same technology and the smaller area under cultivation, the land : Man ratio should have been higher earlier. Thus he assumped that if the extent of cultivation in 1600 was 60% of what it was in 1900, one would rather expect the population in 1600 to have been much less than 60% of what it was in 1901. It should have been, he suggested, only about half.[2]

For determining the population of Awadh by the method suggested by Irfan Habib some tenatative assumptions must be employed. We have just seen that as compared to the map-area, the total ārāzi in Awadh amounted to 36% in the end of the 16th century. The cultivated area in 1885-6 was 61% of the total map-area. If ārāzi is equoted with cultivated area, as by Moreland, it would mean that the extent of cultivation c.1600 was about 59% of what it was

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1. W.H.Moreland, India at the Death of Akbar, London, 1920, pp. 19-20.

2. Irfan Habib, (ed.), CEHI, Vol.I, Cambridge, 1982,p.165.

in 1885-6. But one has to make allowance for certain areas of cultivation escaping measurement under Akbar on the one hand, and the inclusion of cultivable waste within *ārāzi* on the other.[1] Making a rough allowance for this we may say that cultivation c.1600 was about half of what it was in 1885-6. The population of districts within the Mughal *sūba* of Awadh disclosed by 1881 census was 17.95 millions. If cultivation per-capita had not altered markedly after 1600, the population c.1600 should have been about 9 millions. If the cultivated land per-capita had grown smaller during the three centuries, the population should have been smaller than 9 millions in 1600.

Another method of estimating population has been suggested by Ashok V.Desai to determine the population of the Mughal Empire for 1600 on the basis of the *Āin*'s information. He compares the *Āin*'s data on prices, wages and crop rates with the data relating to 1961. Then he proceeds to establish per-capita consumption and per-capita agricultural productivity. Finally he takes the *Āin*'s revenue rates on different crops to work out per-capita land-revenue. With these figures in hand, he divides the total *jama'* of the Akbar's empire and gets the estimated

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1. Irfan Habib, *op.cit.*, pp. 5-6; pp. 11-13.

population in c.1600.[1] But unfortunately Desai's method can not be used for determining the population of Mughal Awadh since the prices, wages and yields are not specifically stated for the province; it cannot, therefore, be used to work out the population of Awadh independently, as one can do with Morelands single method.

The modern population counts of the districts, previously included in the Mughal sūba Awadh and also the population estimates of the adjacent districts may help us to form some idea of the growth of population during the subsequent period of 250 years.

Unluckily the comparison can be confused by the numerous territorial adjustments as the result of various treaties between the East India Company and the nawāb-wazīr's. Large portions of sarkār Gorakhpur were ceaded to the company as early as in 1801. Portions of sarkār Manikpur, sūba Allahabad, came under the administrative control of nawāb's government from the days of Safdar Jung (1739-1754). For

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1. Ashok V.Desai, 'Population and Standards of Living in Akbar's Time' IESHR, Vol.IX, part I, 1972, pp.34-62; Desai's detailed calculations have been criticized by Shireen Moosvi. The criticism relates to the high productivity rates for bigha that Desai accepts and to the absence of distinction between zabti area and other areas where the revenue rates did not apply at all. As a result she offers a different and much higher estimate of the population of Akbar's empire. See Production, Consumption and Population in Akbar's Time' IESHR, Vol.X, part II, 1973, pp. 181-195.

these reasons, both these regions, notably the districts of Gorakhpur and Basti (in the Mughal sarkār Gorakhpur), Rsx Partapgarh and Rae Bareli districts (Mughal sarkār Manikpur) have been taken by us as belonging to Awadh for purposes of population comparisons.

The pre-census population counts of Awadh were gross under-estimates.[1] Previous to the first all India census in 1872, there were some fairly reliable census in the North-Western provinces in 1853 and 1865.[2] However, the first census in Awadh was conducted only in 1869. This was conducted carefully and it was accepted as part of the official all-India census of 1872 without any revision.[3]

On the basis of the 1869 census figures, the total population of Awadh can be determined for the year 1856, by

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1. The under estimates of the population were made alike by the British officials and the native scholars. Sleeman thought it to be around five millions in 1850. (A Journey through the kingdom of Oude, London, 1858, Vol.II, p.200). The plenipotentiary of the deposed king of Awadh, to the British Crown, Molvi Masihuddin Ahmad gave a similar estimate of the population of the kingdom (Oude its princes and government vindicated, p.22). Indeed surprise was expressed by the British officials at the very large figures revealed by the census of 1869. The confession was made: "We (had) always under estimated it, and no body imagined that the population was so dense till there was a regular census taken." Parliamentary Papers, 1871, Colonies : East India, 19, IUP, p.98.

2. Irfan Habib, "Indian Population, 1800-1872 - A note" cyclostyled proceedings of the Seminar, The Transformation of the Medieval Economy into Colonial Economy, Aligarh. 1972, p.5.

3. Ibid.

scaling it down in the same proportion in which the population had increased in the ceaded and conquered districts of the North-West provinces during this period. The total population of the ten selected districts of U.P. encircling and/or touching upon the limits of the <u>nawāb-wazīrs</u> territory in the year 1853 was 1,00,27,145 and 1,10,16,947 by the census of 1872.[1] The compound rate of growth was thus about 0.38% per annum. Applying this rate to the growth of population of Awadh in the same period we can work-out the population of Awadh for 1856. The census of 1872 discloses the population of areas within the limits of Mughal Awadh as 1,68,34,564, scaling it down to allow for a rate of growth of 0.38%, get a population of 1,56,19,115 for the same territory. Thus we see that within a period of about 256 years, the population of Mughal Awadh increased from about 9 millions c. 1600 to 15.6 millions in 1856. The annual rate of growth was thus about 0.28%. This was rather small in comparison to the per annum rate of growth registered in the adjacent British territories during 1853-72, but is not in itself a disreputable rate.

With the meagre data and a number of other limitations, it would be naive on our part to attempt an estimation of

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1. <u>Census of India</u>, Vol.XV, 1911. The growth of the population has been determined from the districts of Gorakhpur Basti, Kanpur, Shahjahanpur, Polibhit, Bijnore, Aligarh, Bulandshahr, Merrut and Saharanpur.

the relative size of the urban population in Mughal times. But the extent of urbanization in the pre-annexation Awadh in the 19th century may still be studied. Scholars are sharply divided over the issue. Kessinger assumed that at the time of the annexation, the number of towns in Awadh apart from Lucknow was small and it was only with the British control that ..., an expansion of economic activity ... led to the rapid growth of the towns.[1] On the other hand, it has been argued that the number ofthe towns and their population in Awadh, sharply declined, "after the territory became subject to the full benefits of British rule."[2]

Donald Butter's survey of the 'Southern Districts of Oudh' is comprehensive enough to provide us with the details of all the towns, their total population and its religious composition. The total number of the towns having a population of 4000 and above was no less than fifty one only in the southern parts of the kingdom.[3] While the total number of the inhabitants in these towns was counted at between 4,65,000 to 4,75,000, Fyzabad contained as many as 100,000 people,

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1. CEHI, II, pp. 265-6.

2. Irfan Habib, 'Studying a Colonial Economy without perciving colonialism' Centre of South Asian Studies, University of Cambridge, 1984, pp. 17-18. Later published in Modern Asian Studies No. 81?

3. Donald Butter, op.cit., passim

while Ranjitpurwa (in Unao district) contained 50,000 to 60,000 persons.[1] Population estimates of Lucknow are not provided by Butter, but in 1799, it was said to contain half a million persons.[2] Sleeman, estimated that the population of Lucknow in 1849-50 was around one million[3] while in 1858 it was again estimated to have been at a million's mark. The town was judged to have been larger than Calcutta.[4]

With the British occupation of Awadh, the picture underwent change. The number of towns as well as their population declined considerably as is evident from the successive census. The trend was most notable in case of the larger towns. The respective figures are tabulated below:

TABLE 'A'

Towns	Pre-annexation estimates	1872	1881	1891	1901
1.Lucknow	a. half million(1799) b. one million(1858)	2,84,779	2,61,303	2,73,028	2,64,094
2.Fyzabad	1,08,000(1836)	35,817	67,652	74,806	71,179
3.Ranjit-purwa	50,000-60,000 (1836)	7,286	7,031	7,817	7,994

1. Ibid.
2. Tennant, Indian Recreations, II,p.404, Cf. H.R.Nevil, District Gazetteers of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh (Lucknow), Lucknow, 1922, p.149.
3. William Howard Russell, My Indian Diary, ed.Michael Edward Cf. Irfan Habib, Studying Colonialism, p.16.
4. Sleeman, Vol.I, p. 137 Cf. A.A.Azmi, 'Position of Agriculture in the Economy of Oudh during the Nawabi regime' PIHC (1967), p.83.

This decline is accompanied by the increase in population of some smaller towns. Tanda and Akbarpur were already famous for the weaving industry in the post-annexation period. A rise in their population may be seen from the following table:

TABLE 'B'

Towns	Pre-annexation estimates	1872	1881	1891	1901
1.Akbarpur	1000(1836)	31,000	6,396	7,443	7,116
2.Tanda	6000(1836)	13,543	19,954	19,724	19,835

But in proportion to the decline registered by the large towns, the growth of these new centres was quite insignificant. At the same time we find that the total number of the towns, having a population of 4,500 or more declined considerably after the annexation. This may be seen from the following table:

TABLE 'C'

	Districts	Year	No. of towns of and above	Total population of the towns
1.	Rae Bareli	1836	13	96,000
		1868-9	4	29,218
		1811	3	32,680
		1911	4	40,379

Contd.......

Table 'C' (continued)

Districts	Year	No.of towns of and above	Total population of the towns
2. Uano	1836	9	1,03,000 to 1,14,000
	1868-9	5	37,842
	1881	5	38,467
	1911	5	39,809
3. Partapgarh	1836	11	1,02,000
	1868-9	1	6,240
	1881	1	9,756
	1911	1	16,041
4. Fyzabad	1836	5	1,34,000
	1868-9	3	55,635
	1881	5	1.05,963
	1911	5	82,549
5. Sultanpur	1836	5	39,000
	1868-9	1	5,708
	1881	1	9,374
	1911	1	9,574

Thus we see that the southern portion of nawāb-wazīrs dominion had contained 43 large towns each having a population of 4,500 and above. But the number of such towns declined

considerably after annexation, there being in 1868-9 only 14 towns, while in 1911 the number rose slightly to 17. Similarly the total population of these towns in 1836 as estimated by Butter was between 4,74,000 to 4,85,000 but it declined to 1,34,643 by the 1868-9 census returns, and rose slightly to 1,88,292 in 1911. Even if a large margin of error is assumed for Butter's estimates, the general tendency is still quite clear.[1] If we derive a converse conclusion, this would be that the total ratio of the urban to the total population in pre-annexation Awadh was probably substantially larger than it was at the close of the 19th century.

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1. Irfan Habib, Studying Colonialism, p.19, where the detailed table is also given.

CHAPTER - III

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

(1) Crops, yields and the productivity

A number of cereal and cash crops were raised in the province of Awadh or "its fertile though light soil."[1] A comparison of the 16th - [illegible] pattern, productivity of the soil and the movement of the prices in relation to these products for a period between A.D.1595 and A.D.1885, which we attempt in this chapter, suggests a remarkable degree of similarity. No doubt, some new crops were introduced during the 19th century, but as compared with the traditional crops of Awadh, these were only grown over a small area, by the end of the 19th century.[2]

A perusal of the dastūr rates given in Āin-i Akbarī shows that 21 rabi crops are listed for the six revenue-circles of sarkār Awadh and Bahraich, while the crops on which dastūrs are recorded under sarkārs Khairabād, Lucknow and Gorakhpūr are fewer.[3] Even crops such as wheat, barley and mustard-seed, grown in the localities during the 19th century, have been omitted from the dastūr lists.[4] Among the twenty-nine kharīf crops, fourteen have been mentioned in all the twelve dastūrs, while eleven minor crops are

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1. W.H.Lawrence, 'The Kingdom of Oude' Calcutta Review part III, 1845, p.383.
2. Agricultural Statistics of British India-1885-6
3. Abul Fazl, Ain-i Akbari I, pp-354-6
4. Agricultural Statistics -- 1885-6.

listed in only six dasturs of the sarkār Awadh and Bahraich. Arhar (a pulse) is mentioned in the revenue circles of Bahraich, Kharonsa, Khairabād, and Pāli, for the other two, lobiya and carrots, the rates are provided only for one circle (i.e. Ibrahimabad), while kūr (a wild grain) finds mention in the Ibrahimabad and Bahraich circles.[1]

The cereal crops cultivated in Awadh can be broadly divided into rice, wheat and millets. A substantial quantity of pulses were also grown in both the rabi and kharīf harvests.

Rice constituted the chief cereal crop of the region, since its cultivation suited the low lying areas subject to inundations. It was cultivated throughout the Terai region and along side of the courses of major rivers traversing Awadh. The high-quality and the common grades of rice find mention in every dastur circle. The different varieties of high grade rice namely sukhdas, Madhkar and jhanwan were praised for their "whiteness, delicacy, fragrance and wholesomeness". Bahraich was famous for such rice and it was obtained for the imperial kitchen.[2] Sukhdas rice continued to be famous throughout the 17th century. Sujan Rae Bhandari asserts that "it (sukhdas rice) was of the best kind, the delicacy and fragrance was beyond imagination. The king, nobles

1. Ain-i Akbari, I, p433
2. Ain-i Akbari, I, p.433

and the common men, all appreciated its taste, flavour and delicacy."[1] Another peculiarity of the rice crop in Awadh noted by these writers was that it grew three months earlier than in other parts of Hindustan.[2]

Sometimes during 18th century, <u>sarkār</u> Gorakhpūr especially <u>pargana</u> Hansi had become quite famous for the high-grade varieties of rice raised there. These were called <u>bhairni</u> <u>shāmzīra</u>, <u>rājhans</u> and <u>rāt kawal</u>. In the markets of Faizabad and Lucknow these varieties sold with the name of <u>pargana</u> Hansi.[3] The area under rice cultivation seems to have been much larger than under wheat. <u>The Agricultural Statistics</u> of 1885-6 disclose an area of 21,59,424 acres (about 20.5% of the total area) under rice, while under wheat this came to 15,56,198 acres (about 16.5% of the total).[4]

Another major crop of the province was wheat. Its cultivation suited only the higher-grounds and drier areas. The high lands between the rivers was considered especially suitable for the crop. Significantly Abul Fazl has not recorded the revenue rates for wheat in some of the higher regions such as <u>sarkār</u> Khairabād and Lucknow, although during the 19th century these regions were known to raise substantial crops of wheat.[5] Wheat

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1. Sujan Rae Bhandari, <u>Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh</u>, Delhi, 1918, p.10.
2. <u>Ibid.</u>, p.45.
3. Mufti Ghulam Hasrat, <u>Kwaif-i Gorakhpur</u>, f.12b
4. <u>Agricultural Statistics 1885-6</u>, p.26.
5. <u>Ibid</u>.

cultivation is not suitable in the low lying areas and the Tarai as, it does not thrive there. It turns yellow and rots. Hoar-frost is extremely prejudicial to both wheat and barley.[1] In spite of this, a substantial area was under the wheat cultivation in Mughal sarkār Gorakhpur. The agricultural statistics for the regions covered by Gorakhpur sarkār (the districts of Gorakhpur, Basti and Gonda) show that in 1865-6 wheat was cultivated over an area of 7,69,141 acres as compared with 16,72,416 acres under rice cultivation. Daryabad Rudauli was famous for high-rates of yield during the 19th century. Butter tells us that it produced around twenty five maunds per bigha, while in Bundel khand the produce of high quality wheat without irrigation was 15 to 16 maunds per bigha.

Abul Fazl furnishes us with dastūr rates for the coarse-grain and most of the pulses in various revenue-circles. But a comparison of the crop-pattern during 16th century with that of the 19th century is not possible, as these cereals have been put under a column headed by 'other food-crops' in the agricultural statistics. But it is evident that these constituted the bulk of agricultural production during the 19th century, as the 'other food crops' were sown over an area (in Oudh, including sarkār Gorakhpur, of 76,27,739 acres as compared with 53,20,822 acres

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1. Butter, pp. 59-60.

2. Ibid., p.60

under rice and wheat.[1] Crops like juwār, lahoara (bājra) arhar and chana could be raised only on higher grounds, and the cultivation of these crops closely coincided with wheat. In this category, a new crop, maize, was introduced by the end of 19th century, but as Butter has not noticed its cultivation in southern Oudh, it was still sparsely cultivated by 1838.

The chief cash-crops raised in the province were oil-seeds, sugar cane, cotton, indigo and tobacco. The cultivation of the vegetables for markets as well as for the domestic use was also undertaken. It was carried on by the peasants belonging to some special castes.[2]

Abul Fazl has provided the revenue rates for mustard-seed only in six dastūr-circles. Although oil has been a part of diet of every Indian it w as not considered to be an important crop of Awadh in the Mughal period. The Agricultural Statistics of 1885-6 show an area of 4,98,879 acres under oil seeds.[3] Possibly the cultivation of oil-seeds as a cash crop expanded after the annexation owing to European demand promoted by the construction of railways.[4]

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1. Agricultural Statistics 1885-6
2. The peasants who carried on garden cultivation were mostly Kāchis, Morais, Kunjra and Luniya or Nuniya. They raised almost every vegetable on the, 'richest soil immediately around the village, in enclosed and reserved fields'. Garden cultivation needed much manuring; the land around the village was very fertile in having 'natural manure' provided by human and animal waste. See Butter, p.69; Sleeman I, pp.125-6.
3. Agricultural Statistics, 1885-6.
4. Irfan Habib, 'Colonization of Indian Economy' Social Scientist No.32(1972)pp.

Sugar-cane was perhaps the most important cash-crop. The revenue rates for high quality and common sugar-cane are provided by Āin for all the dastūr circles of Awadh. Mufti Ghulām Hazrat mentions extensive cultivation of this crop in sarkār Gorakhpur, it was of the best kind as compared to the other places for 'its sweetness and delicacy'. In some parganas of sarkar Gorakhpur, however, its cultivation had to be abandoned due to the menace of the wild elephants.[1]

During the 19th century, Butter noticed the crop was raised in 'small patches here and there, particularly between the river sai and Ganges; and sugar was made in small quantity is south-west part of Oudh.[2] Thornton described its cultivation as 'very circumscribed'.[3] However, while passing through the district of Sultanpur, six kinds of sugar-cane were noticed by W.H.Sleeman, and he found its cultivation to be quite extensive there.[4] The agricultural statistics show as many as 2,40,975 acres under the sugar-cane.[5] This large acreage may be due to the subsequent extension in sugar-cane cultivation after Annexation.

Cotton constituted yet another important cash-crop.

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1. Kwāif-i Gorakhpūr, f.12a.
2. Butter, p.61.
3. Thornton, pp. 28-9.
4. Sleeman, I, pp.162-3 and pp.171-2.
5. Agricultural Statistics, 1885-6.

The Ain provides rev enue-rates for the crop in each of the [illegible] circles. It continued to be widely cultivated during the [illegible] century, but [illegible] noticed that cotton [illegible] throughout the country and abundantly on the high land along the bank of (river) [illegible], it was also 'cultivated throughout [illegible] region particularly on its western part.'[1] A small amount of cotton was exported to the British districts of [illegible] and Ghazipur. The remainder [illegible] worked up by the cotton [illegible] country, particularly at Tanda. The chief [illegible] said to have [illegible] and [illegible]. But it seems that cotton cultivation declined considerably after annexation; the agricultural statistics of 1885-6 recorded only 86,248 acres under cotton.[2]

The indigo produced and manufactured in the province of Awadh was judged to be inferior even during the 19th century. Perhaps for this reason the European indigo planters were not attracted to the area. Those areas of Awadh kingdom which bordered the British territories such as the districts of Gonda, Fyzabad, [illegible] and [illegible] raised indigo in some localities.[3] The Ain records the revenue rates for indigo in only six dasturs. The agricultural statistics show [illegible] 19,651 acres under this crop

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1. Butter, op. 61-2
2. Agricultural Statistics 1885-6
3. ibid.

in Oudh, and in the district Gorakhpur to only 14,201 acres were under indigo cultivation.[1]

Among the new crops, introduced after the *A'in's* time was tobacco. Butter noticed that it was being raised in a *bigha* or two by the *kunjra* and *murāis* near each village.[2] It seems that even after the annexation, the crop was produced only over a small area. The return of agricultural statistics of 1885-6 show only an area of 17,744 acres under tobacco cultivation.[3]

The cultivation of potatos does not seem to have made much progress in *Nawābi* Oudh; it was planted by few *kunjras* and *kāchis* in the vicinity of Kanpur, Lucknow and Fyzabad. The produce was mainly exported to the nearest British Cantonments. The extension of this crop, in the interior was checked by the prejudice felt by the people, especially the Brahman and Bachgoti Rajputs against eating a new vegetable, especially a root. It also does not seem to have become yet a part of the towns-man's diet in Oudh.[4]

Poppy cultivation was noticed by Butter along the bank of river Gomti by some special castes particularly the Kachis. It was mainly exported to the adjacent British districts.

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1. *Ibid.*
2. Butter, p.69.
3. *Agricultural Statistics 1885-6*
4. Butter, p.76; Watt, *DEP* p. 1026

The little amount of opium produced on the right bank of the Gomti was consumed inside the country and was also bought to the markets of Lucknow and Fyzabad. Its cultivation seems to have been abandoned in the later period, or it was fully brought under government control, since the agricultural statistics of 1865-6 record no area under the opium cultivation.[1]

A small amount of ganja was also raised in the country. Butter explicitly asserts that, "no ganja is raised in Bainswara" and he attributes this phenomenon to the, "high tone of the morality" of the inhabitants of the districts.[2]

Quite a large number of other crops were raised in the province. A comprehensive list of these crops has been provided by Abul Fazl in dastūr rates of the sūba for both rabi as well as kharīf seasons. But it appears that the peasants of Awadh could not make any improvements in their methods of cultivation during the subsequent period. While describing the rotation of crops, Butter specifically says that, "the knowledge of the natives ..... is very limited", only two systems of crop rotation; one suited to high ground and another to the lower ground are being followed.[3]

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1. Butter predicted that, 'the time is not far distant, when the growth of opium will constitute one of the principal sources of the revenue of Oudh'(pp.60-1) Watt however informs us that in 1905-6, an area of little less than 200,000 acres under opium, DEP,p.851.

2. Apart from the above reasons, the soil of Bainswara was dry and irrigation was difficult; and this inhibited the growth of poppy and ganja. Cf. Butter,p.69.

3. Butter, p.63.

The major cropping seasons of the province were, rabi and kharif. Double-cropping (i.e. raising of both rabi and kharif crop over the same field) was possible on some parts of cultivated land in Awadh. But even the approximate extent of such area during the Mughal period cannot be determined.[1] However, the agricultural statistics of 1885-6 discloses 29,93,965 acres under double cropping (being about 25% of the total cultivated area).[2]

No estimates are provided for the actual seed-yield ratio during the Mughal period. These are given only by Butter for the southern districts of Oudh (1836). The figures he offers are reproduced below :-

TABLE 'A'

Rabi crops sown in the cold season

Name of the crop.	Sers of seed per bigha.	mans of produce in good year.	mans of produce in bad year.	Former produce in mans.
1. Chana	30	14 or 15	5 to 8	18 to 20
2. Genhun(wheat)	51	14 or 15	7 to 8	20 to 25
3. Jav(Barley)	40	20 to 22	10 to 13	20 to 25
4. Sarson	1/4	1 or 2	$\frac{1}{2}$ or $\frac{3}{4}$	- -
5. Tisi or Arsi	10	3 to 4	$1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2	- -
6. Masur	30	8 to 10	4 to 5	- -

1. Sujan Rae Bhandari, Khulāsat-ut Tawārikh, p.10.
2. Agricultural Statistics 1885-6.

TABLE 'B'

Kharif crops sown in hot season

Name of the crop.	*sers* of seed per *bigha*.	*mans* of produce in good year.	*mans* of produce in bad year.	Former produce in *mans*.
1. Ashan *Kharif*	30	15	8 or 9	20
2. Jarhan	40 for 6 *bigha*	100 from 6 *bigha*	50 or 60 from 6 *bigha*	-
3. Makai	50	16 or 18	5 or 6	-
4. Jowar	6	10 or 12	4 or 5	-
5. Bajra	6	10 or 12	4 or 5	-
6. Urad	7½	8 or 10	3 or 4	-
7. Arhar	1¼	8	3 or 4	-

The tables show a fairly reasonable seed-yield ratios. For wheat, for example, we have 1:11 or 1:12 in good years and about 1:5.6 or 1:6 in lean years.

Estimates for crop yields and revenue rates per *bigha* are provided by Abul Fazl on the basis of the *rai'* worked out by Sher Shah's administration (1540-5). The yields are given for *pōlaj* and *parāuti* land(the lands continuously under cultivation). Three estimates of yields are furnished for each crop; *gazīda*, *'āla* (good or high quality), *miyāna*(middling) and *zabūn*(low quality). Then an average of yields is given simply by dividing the total by 3.

The figure, arrived at, is further divided by 3 to get the amount of produce of each crop that was claimed by the state as land revenue. In the Agricultural Statistics from 1892 onwards estimates have been provided separately for irrigated and un-irrigated lands in pounds per acre. An attempt could be made to compare the yields of high and middling categories of land during Sher Shah's administration with modern estimated yields for irrigated lands. Similarly the yields of low category of land in Sher Shah's schedules could be compared with the yield estimates of unirrigated lands of modern statistics. However, a comparison of the yield rates for certain crops in Sher Shah's time with those of modern times will be quite conjectural. The modern reported yields for cotton are those of cleaned cotton, while the Āin's data refer to the raw cotton only. Similarly in case of mustard seeds, the modern statistics has combined it with the rape seed, while the Āin's information pertains to mustard only. A comparison of the Āin's data for shāli (paddy) with that of husked rice in modern statistics would seem to be too hypothetical. In the accompanying tables a comparison has been offered for the major crops only.[2]

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1. The units of area and weight, are to be assumed, are those used during Sher Shah's time. Man-i Shershāhi was based on a ser equal to 28 dams and not of 30 dams (as was man-i Akbari). Similarly the bigha under Sher Shah was based on gaz-i Sikandari which was 39/41 of gaz-i Ilahi(Irfan Habib, op.cit.pp.367-8 and pp.353-6). Since both weight and area were smaller by about the same proportion the difference hardly requires conversion of Sher Shahi Units into those of Akbar.
2. The comparison is made with uniform units by converting acres and British mound into bigha-i Ilāhi and man-i Akbari. (0.6 acre=1 bigha; 55.32 lb = 1 Akbari mound).

TABLE 'A'

Average yields in Man-i Akbari/bigha-i Ilāhi of irrigated land for c. 1892

Districts	Wheat	Rice	Sugarcane	Barley	Gram	Pea
1. Sitapur	13.39	10.71	22.32	14.28	9.80	10.32
2. Hardoi	13.39	-	-	14.28	-	-
3. Bahraich	13.39	11.29	17.85	13.39	8.92	9.25
4. Kheri	12.50	-	-	-	-	-
5. Unao	12.50	10.17	22.32	13.39	-	12.50
6. Lucknow	12.50	-	-	14.28	10.71	
7. Rae Bareli	12.50	-	-	14.28	-	14.28
8. Sultanpur	13.39	13.19	26.78	14.28	-	14.28
9. Barabanki	13.39	-	-	14.28	-	-
10. Partapgarh	13.39	-	22.32	14.28	10.71	14.28
11. Fyzabad	13.39	-	17.85	14.28	-	-
12. Basti	13.39	11.47	22.32	14.28	12.50	12.50
13. Gonda	13.39	-	17.85	14.28	-	-
14. Gorakhpur	13.39	11.47	22.32	14.28	12.50	12.50
AVERAGES	13.15	11.45	20.79	14.16	12.09	12.09
Āin's average of good and middling lands	15.00	15.10	11.30	9.00	11.30	11.30

TABLE 'D'

Average yields in *man-i Akbari*/*bigha-i Ilāhi* of Unirrigated land for c. 1892

Districts	Wheat	Rice	Barley	Gram	Pea
1. Sitapur	8.92	7.36	8.38	6.25	7.14
2. Hardoi	8.92	7.36	8.92	6.25	- -
3. Bahraich	8.92	8.75	8.38	5.35	6.25
4. Kheri	7.14	7.36	8.38	5.35	- -
5. Unao	6.25	7.36	7.14	5.35	7.14
6. Lucknow	6.25	7.36	7.14	5.35	- -
7. Rae Bareli	- -	7.36	8.92	6.25	- -
8. Sultanpur	7.14	9.90	8.92	6.25	7.14
9. Barabanki	7.14	9.90	8.92	6.25	- -
10. Partabgarh	7.14	8.75	8.92	6.25	- -
11. Fyzabad	8.92	8.75	8.92	6.25	- -
12. Basti	8.92	8.60	8.03	7.59	6.25
13. Gonda	- -	9.90	8.92	6.25	- -
14. Gorakhpur	8.92	8.60	8.03	6.25	- -
AVERAGES	7.75	8.35	8.33	6.03	6.69
Yields recorded in *Ain* for low quality land.	6.35	9.15	6.15	7.20	8.25

Table 'A' setsout the yields of eight major crops (rabi and kharif both) from the irrigated lands for the districts falling within the limits of Mughal provinces of Awadh (including districts situated on the periphery) along side the averages of Sher Shah's high and 'middling' yields. Table 'B' setsout the yields of these very crops from the 'unirrigated' land compared with Sher Shah's 'low' yields.

These tables show that the average of Āin's 'good' and 'middling' yields are slightly higher than in 1892 estimates for these crops like wheat, barley and gram, but in the case of coarser grains such as juwār and bājra the rates of productivity were substantially higher during Sher Shah's time the opposite is the case with peas. The yield of rice and sugarcane in terms of gur was certainly higher (about two folds) towards the close of the 19th century as compared to the Āin's time. So far as the increase in the yield of gur by the 1890s is concerned, this is understandable in view of the wide-spread use of iron crushers which has resulted in a higher extraction of juice.[1]

The 'Āin gives us details of the revenue rates on each crop for each dastūr circle of the Mughal empire. These rates

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1. J.A. Voelcker, Report on the improvement of Indian Agriculture, London, 1893, pp.276-7. He refers to the wide-use of iron mills by 1893 in the North Western

essentially represented the cash value of the portion of produce claimed as land-revenue. In other words, the variation of *dastūr* rates from one area to another could be taken as a phenomenon denoting the actual variation in yields or prices or both. In the province of Awadh, for some of the *rabi* crops the final *dastūrs* are not recorded for all circles and the rates have been provided only for six circles while the remaining six circles have been left out for unspecified reasons. However, with the rates available, we can study the main trends of these variations.

The rates of wheat vary from 54-20 *dāms* (in Awadh and Bahraich) to 62-15 *dāms* (per *bigha* Ibrahimabad). Rates barley ranged between 35-20 (Firozabad) to 45-21 (Ibrahimabad again). Notable variations are discernable in the rates for green pea; the highest was 38 *dām* (Ibrahimabad) the lowest 24-15 *dām* (Firozabad). The maximum rate recorded for the high grade dark coloured paddy (*shāli*) was 74-20 (Lucknow) while the lowest was 62-5 *dām* (Bahraich). The rates were generally lower towards the North-East, and tended to be high towards south and north-west. The cotton rates were high in south-west (93-23 *dām* in Ibrahimabad, Pali, Lucknow and Unam) while lower rates were recorded towards the south-east (83-21 *dām* in Awadh and Sharwara). For *lahdara* the rates seems to have been pretty uniform, the lowest 23-12 *dām* (Bahraich, Gorakhpur and Kharonsa), the highest 25-18 (Ibrahimabad and Unam). Similarly the rates for *juwār* show little variations; the high rate region was the

north-east (the rate being [illegible] dām in Ibrahimabad, Kharonsa, [illegible] and Gorakhpur), while low rates were [illegible] in the western parts (32-15 [illegible] and Unam). In the case of thick or paunda sugarcane the rates ranged between 240-9 dām (Awadh, Bahraich, Kharonsa, Bharwara, and Gorakhpur) and [illegible] dām (Firozabad), while the rate of ordinary cane at the minimum was 123- dām (Ibrahimabad, Bahraich, Kharonsa and Gorakhpur) and the highest at 1[illegible]0-15 dām (Awadh and Bharwara).

No general pattern emerges from the dastūr rates as to certain high and low yields (and prices) uniformly for all crops.

The modern data for yields gave an almost set pattern for the major crops, with only a few exception. In case of wheat and barley almost a uniform rate of yield is assigned to all the districts of the Mughal sūba of Awadh. However in a few pockets of the north-west, the yields were a little low. In these regions, the yield rates of juwār and bājra are lower than the standard for the region. In case of cotton a decline in yields from the uniform is discernable in eastern districts of Basti and Gorakhpur. The maximum yield blocks of sugarcane (in terms of gur) are located in the north-eastern and north-western districts, while the substantially lower levels are recorded for the Bahraich, Fyzabad and Gonda districts. These details show no particular correlation with the dastūr-variations, probably because the latter were determined not only by yield estimates but also by prices.

(ii) Means of cultivation and irrigation

Specific details about the practices followed by the peasants of Awadh during the Mughal period are lacking. In the absence of such information, it may yet be assumed that the methods of cultivation and irrigation adopted by them were similar to other peasants of north India. Obviously, these methods, similar as these might have been to those of Europe in the 17th century,[1] tended to become outmoded as two centuries passed by. Thornton thought that in Awadh the "modes of tillage were extremely rude and inefficient. The operation of ploughing was carried out so feebly and unskillfully that it had to be repeated 30 and 40 times for a wheat crop, after that harrowing had to be undertaken 7 or 8 times.[2] The reasons for such 'feeble operation of ploughing' were not far to seek, as the cattle employed in agriculture were mostly "stunted, broken down and miserable".[3]

In the time of the _A'in_ the number of tax-free animals allowed per head of peasant were four bullocks, two cows, and one buffalo. Large grazing grounds, in waste and forest both, were available for the cattle during the Mughal period.[4]

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1. Cf. _CEHI_, I, p.214. The use of seed-drill and dibbling were the methods, employed by Indian peasants, were unknown in the contemporary Europe. Cf. _Ibid._
2. Thornton, op. 29-30.
3. _Ibid._
4. _CEHI_, I, pp.220-1. During the Mughal period the price of _ghee_ was about 8.75 times its weight in wheat.

The situation underwent a change as the population increased and cultivation expanded. The peasants in Awadh depended on the <u>siul</u> <u>dhāk</u> and other jungles for the support of their animals. During the 18th and 19th centuries the forests were reclaimed on a large scale to extend the area under cultivation and for the purpose of firewood. The scarcity of the 'grazing ground' led ultimately in fall of the number of animals in relation to the total human population. This deterioration in the south-western districts was so acute that, "people who would formerly have possessed 100 oxen and 50 buffaloes, have now only four or five of them"[1]. The animals left with peasants were in no good condition because, "excepting along the Sai and near Faizabad, where there is still a good supply of water and fodder, the oxen are most miserable animals of the kind ...... lean, stunted and frequently diseased."[2]

The scarcity of the cattle had also become acute because of the "universal practice of revenue collectors seizing and carrying them away when their owner fell into arrears." The problem had assumed such dimensions that when the fields had to be watered, it was quite common to see, "all members of the family, male and female, working instead of cattle at the well rope."[3] The fall in the number of livestock per capita ultimately

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1. Butter, p. 65.
2. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 64
3. <u>Ibid</u>., p.65-6.

raised the price of ghee. It was, "formerly sold at 20 sers the rupee, is now sold at a ser and half."[1]

Manuring was done with the dung of cattle and horses. This was supposed to raise the fertility of land and the productivity of the crop in, 'triple measure'. But one would think that since there was some scarcity of cattle, and reduction in grazing grounds during the 19th century, the dung manure would also have become relatively less plentiful. Moreover, manuring was not done scientifically and Butter thought that the local peasant had much to learn in this regard.[2]

The peasants seem to have had an accurate idea of the nature of soil and its adaptabilities for particular crops. Separate schedules of tillage were divised for each crop. The fields were especially prepared for wheat cultivation; such fields had to be left fallow in the kharīf season. In this period of four months, thirty two ploughings were carried out lengthwise (khara-khara) and across (bēra-bēra) while the ordinary peasants repeated this course twenty times only. Some diagonal ploughing operations were also carried out. After this much of ploughing, smoothing out of the field was done in order to pulverize the soil. This was done by using a heavy wooden plank called serāwan eight times; lengthwise and across.[3] The other

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1. Butter, p. 64.
2. Ibid., p.63
3. Ibid., p.55

rabi crops such as gram, barley, and juar needed only two or three double operations of ploughing and smoothing. The fields in which rice was intended to be sown were first filled with water at least a foot deep, and, then, "three or four double ploughings are given and the *serāwan* is once passed through the soil, so as to reduce it to the state of soft mud."[1]

Sowing by seed-drill and broad-cast has been described by Butter. No reference is made to dibbling, already noticed in the 17th century.[2]

The agricultural implements used by the peasants of Awadh during the 19th century were judged by Butter to be "rude and simple in the extreme".[3] But as compared to others, the people of Awadh had no, "superstitious prejudice against the introduction of new agricultural implements." The only objection they might had against the use of any new device or implement would be the cost.[4] The following is the list of the implements given by Butter :

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1. Butter, p.55
2. *Ibid.*, p.56
3. *Ibid.*, p. 62
4. *Ibid.*, p. 63

S.No.	Name of the implements	Cost	Remarks
1.	Plough (Har)	2 annas	
2.	Plough share (phar)	8 annas	
3.	Narrow hoe (kudāl)	8 annas	Its weight was $2\frac{1}{2}$ ser or kachā paserī
4.	Broad-hoe (pharuá)	one rupee	
5.	Heavy wooden plank (serāwan)	2 annas	
6.	Yoke for plank (māchi)	2 annas	
7.	Big leather bag (pur)	$1\frac{1}{2}$ rupees	
8.	Small leather bag (pur)	one rupee	
9.	Rope, 25 or 30 cubits long	12 annas	
10.	Basket of split bamboos (ouglá)	2 pice	

The rainfall and the rivers flowing through the province were the major sources of irrigation, Abul Fazl mentions the rivers, Sarju, Ghaghra, Sai and Gomti as the principal streams traversing the province. There is no information about any water lifting devices set upon these rivers. But the floods were very important for rice cultivation. Abul Fazl says, "with the beginning of the dry season it is wonderful how the floods begin from the Saru and Ghaggar; they flood the land before the onset the monsoon. As the waters rise, the rice stalks also grow and lengthen. Only if the floods take place

before the ears grow, is the rice crop destroyed."[1] Similarly over on small area of cultivated land, artificial methods of irrigation were also applied, but in crude forms. Bhandari tells us that, "although at some places cultivation is supported by the wells -------- most of the land still depended on rainfall". Earlier the abundance of the rainfall in the province has been praised as it resulted, "in an extension of the cultivation, augmentation of the crop-yields, cheapness of the grains, and the large settlements in parganas."[2]

But with the extension of the cultivation through a continuous process of the reclaimation of virgin land, the need for having more artificial irrigation began to be felt. During the 19th century, irrigation was practised throughout the kingdom of Awadh in order to supplement the mansoon. The principal sources of artificial irrigation were wells, tanks and lakes.[3] Butter thought that the need for artificial irrigation had been growing in Awadh because of a possible diminution of rainfall owing to forest clearance. The forest clearing had been carried out very rapidly in north-western parts of the kingdom, and it was not accompanied by any artificial system of planting which might counter-act "the parching effects" produced by the removal of the forests.[4]

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1. Āin-i Akbari, I, p.433; Khulāsat-ut-Tawārikh, p.45.
2. Khulāsat-ut- Tawārikh, p.10.
3. Butter, p.48
4. Ibid.

The most common practice for obtaining water from a river or a lake, when the bank happened to be perpendicular, and close to water, was by means of a basket, woven of split bamboos, called *dugla*. It was manipulated by two men facing each other and holding a rope, tied with the sides of the *dugla*. By applying this method three *bighas* of land could be irrigated in a day by four men, who used to work by turn and raise the water upto 6 feets.[1] When the river bank was much above the water level, the water was raised by using a leather bag and rope. The rope was either passed over a pulley wheel made of wood or a cylinder made of split bamboos. The rope was pulled either by cattle or manually.[2]

The wells were dug 60 or 70 feet deep. From these wells also the water was raised by using a leathern bag (*pur*) pulled by rope. The lever-based *dhenkli* was also used for raising water from the wells of small depth. However, even the digging of the wells alongside the left bank of Gomti was not possible because of the aridity and sterility of the soil. But in 1885-6, the total area irrigated by wells was about 10,63,780 acres, this being ? % of the total irrigated area.[3] ?

The absence of the Persian-wheel (*rahat*) was noted by Butter.[4] It was a labour saving device; that it was not used

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1. *Ibid.*, pp. 66-7
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Agricultural Statistics 1885-6*, p. 32.
4. Butter, p.32.

in Awadh may be ascribed to the relative inefficiency of the wooden machine. The metallic machine came later.

It appears that there was absolutely no Canal-irrigation in any part of Awadh. The agricultural statistics of 1885-6 show no returns under the column 'area irrigated by the canals'.

As compared with the cultivated area in 1885-6, the total irrigated area was very small (about 18% of the total cultivated area). There is no reason to believe that the proportion was higher under the Awadh kingdom. Much of the larger area of land was thus left to the mercies of rainfall and riverine inundations.

CHAPTER - IV

THE LAND REVENUE SYSTEM UNDER THE MUGHALS

'Hindustan', according to Abul Fazl, was brought under zabt by Sher Shah and Islam Shah. Awadh was apparently a part of this region. Now, zabt involved the measurement of the area by a standard unit, and assessment of the revenue by the application of cash-rates sanctioned for various crops. Awadh is assigned such rates or dastūrs from the beginning of Akbar's reign, these being set out in the statistical chapter called Āin-i Doazdah Sāla in the Āin-i Akbari. From the 25th regnal year of Akbar, at any rate, the sūba came to be divided into a number of circles, within each of which a separate schedule (dastūr-ul 'amal) was in force. These circles, comprising a varying number of mahāls had separate schedules of cash-rates sanctioned for various crops, per bigha-i Ilāhi as measured by the bamboo rod.

The following dastūr circles were formed within Awadh.[1]

1. Āin-i Akbari, p. 352

Name of the sarkārs	Name of the dastūr circles.	Name of pargana included in the dastūr circles
1. Sarkār Awadh (21 mahāls)	i. Awadh ba Haveli	19 pargana
	ii. Ibrahimabad	1 pargana
	iii. Kishni	1 pargana
2. Sarkār Bahraich (11 mahāls)	iv. Bahraich ba Haveli	8 pargana
	v. Firozabad	2 pargana
	vi. Kharonsa	1 pargana
3. Sarkār Khairabād (22 mahāls)	vii. Khairabad	12 pargana
	viii. Pali	8 pargana
	ix. Bhurwara	2 pargana
4. Sarkār Gorakhpūr (24 mahāls)	x. Gorakhpur	24 pargana
5. Sarkār Lucknow (55 mahāls)	xi. Lucknow	47 pargana
	xii. Onam	8 pargana

The dastūr circles were of various sizes, apparently keeping in view the local variations of prices and yield levels of different crops. However, no general pattern emerges. Small dastūr circles, (Kishni, Ibrahimabad and Kharonsa) are found as isolated blocks in the midst of bigger units like Awadh, Bahraich and Khairabād. It is possible that the fixation of dastūr rates in such small circles was not made on the basis of

the local level of prices and yields, but, "was motivated by some administrative convenience." It has been assumed that, "these parganas were included in the jāgir of some big nobles who held the other circles within their jāgirs and wished to have identical dasturs in the various parts of their jāgirs."[1]

During the 17th century, the zabt system of revenue assessment seems to have continued in Awadh, so far as we can judge from our evidence. New Large tracts of virgin land were brought under measurement and it has been pointed out in Chapter I that as compared to the map area, the total ārāzi in Awadh (excluding sarkār Gorakhpūr) in 1595 was about 51 %, and it rose to 66.45% during the early years of Aurangzeb's reign. Still about 1/3rd of the total number of the villages were said to be still unmeasured in Aurangzeb's time.

While measurement of the tax-paying land thus continued, we know next to nothing whether the cash revenue rates were set in the same manner as in Akbar's time.

The magnitude of the land-revenue demand under the zabt system generally exceeded the formally prescribed limit of the 1/3rd of the total produce, and in practice it rather approximated to a half of the produce.[2] The Ain gives us details of the land revenue demand for different crops. It does so far different

1. Shireen Moosvi, "Formulation of land revenue rates under Akbar" IHR, Delhi Jan, 1978, p. 324.

2. Irfan Habib, op.cit., p.191.

years of Akbar's reign (6th RY to 24th RY) in the tabular form set out as the *Āin-i Nūzdehsāla*. In the attached table eight cereal crops of *rabi* and *kharīf* have been selected from the *Āin*'s tables. It appears that most of the crops were uniformly rated from 6th to 9th RY throughout the province. From the 10th RY the rates are entered in pairs of minimum and maximum for most of the crops. Generally these rates are low as compared to the rates sanctioned for the previous years, and the pair suggests a range of different rates in different localities. The revenue rates from the 15th RY to 24th RY, on which the final *dastūrs*, too were supposedly based, are given in similar pairs, and again in most cases, they are lower as compared to the rates given for earlier periods.

The 19 year rates are followed by the final rates. These rates, given in the *Āin-i Deh Sāla*, "were permanent and were to be applied each year without any reference to the current yield or prices".[1] These were, however, not the exact averages of the revenue rates sanctioned from the 15th RY to 24th RY, but were much higher. The enhancement was done to adjust the difference necessiated owing to the introduction of the *bigha-i Ilāhi*. The new *bigha* was 10.09% high in size as compared to the old one.[2] But in actual practice and for the purpose of setting out the revenue

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1. Irfan Habib, *op.cit.*, p.210
2. *Ibid.*, p.355.

Table A : Selected Nineteen-Year Rates (Rabi[1] crop)

RY	Wheat		Gram		Barley		Mustard	
6th & 7th RY	90		80		70		80	
8th RY	90		80		70		80	
9th RY	90		80		60		80	
10th RY	52	60	48	56	42	50	68	80
11th RY	52	80	48	76	42	60	68	80
12th RY	52	80	48	76	52		68	80
13th RY	52	70	48	64	48	50	68	80
14th RY	46	65	34	58	38	44	54	60
15th RY	48		24	33	28	32	30	33
16th RY	42	50	28	33	30	32	28	33
17th RY	50	52	26	33	32	61	28	33
18th RY	33	46	20	27	20	27	22	33
19th RY	33	43	20	28	20½	28	22	33
20th RY	46½	58	30	41	29½	45	25	?
21th RY	48	72	42	57½	43	62	19	30½
22nd RY	54	74½	30	57½	34	56½	25	31
23rd RY	32	44	19	44	22	30	20	28
24th RY	38	46	21	40	24	40	21	20

1. British Museum Add. 7652, f.156b; compare the text, pp. 354-55.

Table B : Selected Nineteen-Year Rates (*Kharīf*[1] crop)

RY	Dark coloured peddy		*Jowār*		*Mash*		*Lahdara*	
6th & 7th RY	-		50		48		48	
8th RY	-		50		48		48	
9th RY	-		60		54		48	50
10th RY	80		48		44		44	
11th RY	80		48	60	44	34?	44	50
12th RY	80		48	60	44	50	44	50
13th RY	80	90	48	60	50	54	44	50
14th RY	68		40		36		40	
15th RY	56		26		28		20	70
16th RY	30	68	26	40	28	36	20	40
17th RY	56		26		28		20	
18th RY	56	70	26	27	26	28	20	
19th RY	50	70	24	26	26	28	20	40
20th RY	54½	70	23	40	23	35	18	48
21st RY	49½	68	23	48	28½	42½	18	48
22nd RY	44	76	25	48	28	34	18	48½
23rd RY	42	76	30	40	19	36	20	40
24th RY	36	60	24	36	17	28	18	30

1. British Museum Add. 7652, f. 156a; compared the text, pp. 355-56.

rates, the new bigha was assumed to be 11.8% higher and the dastūrs too were raised in the same proportion. Shireen Moosvi has reconstructed the conversion schedule which was presumably applied by the Mughal administration. In the revised system 100 dāms of the old scale now corresponded to 111 dām 20 jītals and similarly 200 dāms, now equalled 223 dām 15 jītals, the increase being exactly 11.8%.[1] In fact, most of the rates in the final dastūr appear to be based on a set conversion schedule.[2]

Revenue incidence per bigha could be worked out with the help of the statistical tables included in the account of the Twelve ṣūbas. Appendix 'A' sets out pargana-wise information regarding the revenue incidence per bigha (jama'/ārāzi).

If we divide the jama' by ārāzi, as we do in Appendix 'A', we find immense variations. This is to be explained primarily by the fact that the measurement of revenue-paying land had been carried out in a very uneven manner, so that where the proportion of unmeasured land was large (and the arazi small), the revenue incidence per bigha of ārāzi is naturally very high. On the other hand low jama'/ārāzi figures would tend to suggest a high level of measurement. Unfortunately, here too it is not clear whether this was the actual revenue incidence, since much unassessed land, e.g. waste, jungle, ravine, habitation, might have been measured and included in the ārāzi.

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1. Shireen Moosvi, op.cit., pp. 306-9.
2. Ibid., p.309.

This brings us to another aspect of the Mughal revenue system. Since measurement was not complete in any sarkār of the sūba Awadh, there should have existed other methods of revenue assessment apart from the zabt system. Crop-sharing or batāi, was often supposed to be the 'best method of revenue collection, since in this system the risks of seasonal variations were shared equally between the cultivators and the authorities.[1] But from the administrative point of view, it was an expensive method since it required, "a large number of alert watchmen, otherwise the ill-started ones soil their dishonest hands with misappropriation".[2] This attitude of hostility to crop sharing continued to persist under the Nawab Wazirs. A letter included in the Ausāf-i Asaf refers to a village, where no cultivation was undertaken since long, and it had been agreed with a zamindār that revenue would in future be taken by 'batai' if he settled the village afresh. The zamindār did so, and distributed seeds and livestock by way of taqāvi. But when the crops were ripe, the demand was sought to be commuted into a demand in cash of Rs.3 per bigha implying measurement, which apparently imposed hardship on the assessee.[3]

A large number of surviving village papers such as patta, qubūliyat deeds and qaul-o-qarār documents from the various

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1. Irfan Habib, op.cit., pp. 197-8
2. Ain, I, p.286, Cf. Ibid., p.197
3. Ausāf-i Asaf, f.72b, University Collection MS. also in ff. 105 a-b, Abdul Salam MS.

regions of Awadh during the 17th century make it clear that the basic unit of assessment was always the village and not the individual peasants; notwithstanding the officially proclaimed preference to make the assessments upon individual peasants.[1] Such a policy was aimed at avoiding any unjust distribution of the land-revenue burden, but it seems that in actual practice this was not simply possible.[2] In both khālsā and jāgīrs the village was assessed as the unit. In qaūl-o qarār documents of Saiyed Muhammad Arif and his father in pargana Hisāmpur, sarkār Bahraich regarding certain villages, included in the jurisdiction of the jāgīrdārs, the revenue is invariably assessed on the village.[3] Similarly in pargana Sadarpur sarkār Khairabād, one Shaikh Ghulām Ahmad agreed to pay an amount of Rs.1390, annas 9 annually for 21 villages to the imperial treasury in fixed sum (bil-muqta').[4] Again, a qaūl-o qarār, relating to bil-muqta' arrangements of the jāgīr of Prince 'Azam in pargana Sandilah, sarkar Lucknow, also treats the village as the unit of assessment.[5] The ijāra documents for madad-i ma'āsh holdings also exhibit this feature.[6] The papers

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1. Irfan Habib, op.cit., pp. 230-32.
2. Ibid.
3. Allahabad, 1206, and 897.
4. RRA, 1299 and 1302
5. NA1 - 1574
6. FM - 84

concerning the accounts of the revenue-realization (tūmār-wa waslāt) too were submitted for the entire village;[1] and this practice continued in the days of nawāb-wazīrs[2] as well. The details regarding the distribution of the tax burden on the individual peasants by the zamindārs and the ijāradārs are not furnished in the surviving records from Awadh though they might have been recorded.

We also do not have anything corresponding to the Āin's dastūr rates for the later periods. The information regarding the total jama'dāmi, however, enables us to form an idea of the change in the total amount of land-revenue in course of time. The available data are tabled below :-

Jama'dami of suba Awadh in different periods

Source		Date	dams
1.	Āin-i Akbari	1595-6	20,17,58,172
2.	Iqbālnāma-i Jahāngiri	1605	22,98,65,014
3.	Majālisu-s Salātin	pre-1627	23,22,00,000
4.	Bayāz-i Khushbu'i	1628-36	25,97,58,140
5.	Farhang-i Kardāni	1633-38	25,82,10,000
6.	Add. 16,863	1644-47	26,35,00,565
7.	Lāhori	-do-	30,00,00,000

1. NAI - 1549
2. NAI - 1280

8. Sadiq Khan	1646-47	1,00,00,00,000 ?
9. Bernier	1638-56	27,32,00,000
10. Thevenot	-do-	26,70,00,000
11. Or. 1840	-do-	25,82,10,000
12. Dastūr-al ʿAmal-i ʿIlm-i Navisindagi	-do-	25,82,10,000
13. Bodl. O.390	-do-	25,82,10,000
14. Sujan Rai Bhandari	-do-	26,45,40,000
15. Manucci	-do-	28,80,00,000
16. Farhang-i Kardāni o Kār-āmōzi	-do-	25,82,10,000
17. Siyāqnāma	-do-	27,32,00,000
18. Dastūr-al ʿAmal-i Navisindagi	c.1646-56	27,32,00,000
19. Dastur-al ʿAmal-i ʿAlamgiri	c. 1656	36,39,82,859
*20. Ethe. 433	c. 1656	36,39,82,859
21. Mirat-al ʿAlam, Add. 7657	c. 1667	32,00,72,193
22. Zawābit-i ʿAlāmgīri	c. 1687-91	32,13,17,819
23. Fraser-86	c. 1687-95	32,13,17,819
24. Intikhāb-i Dastūr-al ʿAmal-i Pādshahi	c.1687 ?	32,13,17,819
*25. Dastūr-al ʿAmal-i Shahjahāni	c.1700	27,95,79,619
*26. Br.Mus.6586	c. 1707	39,85,54,135
27. Jagjiwandās	c. 1709	32,13,17,819
*28. Ethe-433	c. 1720	33,84,99,340
*29. Chahār Gulshan	c. 1720	32,46,80,247
*30. Uny.Coll.-FA-73, Aligarh	c. 1759	37,46,74,559

It seems that a revision of the jama'dāmi was undertaken after the compilation of the Āin-i Akbari; and by the close of Akbar's reign itself there was considerable increase in the total jama' of the sūba. During Jahangir's reign the jama'dāmi was again enhanced, but as compared to the earlier revision, this was only marginal. Under Shah Jahan, the jama' of the province was raised considerably through periodic revisions. Before the war of succession, the total jama'dāmi of the province was about 145 % of Āin's time. But partly perhaps as a result of the devastation caused by the war of succession and partly owing to agrarian distress of the early years of Aurangzeb's reign, the total jama' of province decreased during the early phase of Emperor Aurangzeb and remained so during the 17th century. But in the last decade of his long reign, it again rose to a level 197.5% of what it was in 1595. In the post-Aurangzeb period, the total jama'-dāmi again seems to have undergone a decline.

In some of our sources a sarkār-wise break up of the total jama'dāmi has also been given. In the following table, these figures have been indexed with the figures of Āin as = 100. The figures are put in a chronological order.

T A B L E

Sarkār-wise break-up of the total jama'dāmi of sūba Awadh

Sarkars	Br.Mues. Add.6588	Ethe-433	Br.Mues. Add.6598	Br.Mues. Add. 6586	Chahār Gul-shan	Uny. Coll. F.A.73
Sūba total	138.81	180.72	180.73	138.81	161.21	191.00
Sarkār Awadh	127.04	143.40	143.40	147.33	122.30	143.35
Sarkār Bahraich	115.60	177.20	177.43	161.60	104.45	177.20
Sarkār Gorakhpūr	204.09	361.25	361.52	386.25	467.03	363.46
Sarkār Khairabād	134.43	167.47	167.47	197.08	138.59	179.85
Sarkār Lucknow	160.90	204.01	224.90	224.90	187.34	203.98

We find that in sarkār Gorakhpūr the jama'dāmi increased five times, while in sarkār of Khairabād and Lucknow, it became double of what it was in 1595. The sarkārs of Awadh and Bahraich on the other hand, do not record a high increase by 1707. In these sarkārs, as can be seen in Appendix 'A', the revenue incidence per unit of map area was the lowest at the time of the Āin.

Hasil or hāsil-i ausat figures are also provided in some of these statistical accounts. In general the ordinary hāsil are considerably lower than the jama' figures in the same statistics: this is what is to be expected, since the actual realization seldom reached the level of the jama'('twelve-monthly') in the Mughal Empire.

The distance between jama' and hasil is illustrated in a farman of Aurangzeb's time relating to a village situated at the boundary of Awadh. The zimn of the farman to Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf issued on 18th Jamad I, 22nd R.Y. contain hasil figure (from 4th to 17th R.Y.) of the village Singhwal in sarkar Manikpur, suba Allahabad.[1] It fluctuated between rupees twenty-one to rupees ninety-six while the total jama' of the village was rupees 802½ or 32,000 dams.

The picture is otherwise with the hasil-i kamil or the maximum revenue ever realized. This uniformly exceeds the jama'.

TABLE

jama' and hasil statistics of the suba

	Source	Year	A jama'	B hasil-i kamil (dams)	B as % of A
1.	Fraser-86	XVIIIth RY	32,13,17,819	39,54,30,8140	123.78
2.	-do-	1687-91	32,13,17,819	36,88,26,340	114.78
3.	Zawabit-i 'Alamgiri	1687-91	32,13 ,17,819	36,48,22,040	113.53
4.	Jagjiwandas	c.1709	32,13,17,819	36,40,26,040	113.29
5.	Br.Mues.Add. 6586	1707	39,85,54,135	39,65,33,360	99.49
6.	Uny.Coll.,FA-73	1759	38,46,74,559	33,77,68,480	87.88
7.	Br.Mues.Add.6588	?	27,95,79,619	33,57,58,800	120.80
8.	Chahar Gulshan	c.1720	32,46,80,247	33,24,33,660	102.38
9.	BM Add.22831	?	28,95,79,619	33,41,79,120	115.48

1. See my paper,"Proceedings Indian History Congress,1979 302-14

It is, however, of some interest that this exceptionally high level of <u>hāṣil-i kāmil</u> is a particular feature of Awadh. In none of the other provinces does the amount of <u>hāṣil-i kāmil</u> exceed the total <u>jama'dāmi</u>, with the exception of Delhi. The actual significance of this particularity of <u>ṣūba</u> Awadh is, however, hard to grasp; it can only be noted here. (See Appendix '3')

APPENDIX 'A' (*Jama'/Ārāzi* per *bigha* in 1595)

Sarkār Awadh

	Pargana	Jama'/Ārāzi
1.	Awadh ba Haveli	52.37
2.	Ambodha	6.98
3.	Ibrahimabad	23.03
4.	Inhauna	17.12
5.	Pachhimrath	14.69
6.	Bithori	51.44
7.	Basodhi	16.20
8.	Thana Bhadaon	49.12
9.	Baktha	8.67
10.	Daryabad	11.02
11.	Rudauli	9.24
12.	Sailuk	8.27
13.	Sultanpur	50.44
14.	Satinpur	20.71
15.	Subeha	15.35
16.	Sarwapali	20.66
17.	Satrikh	30.40
18.	Guorich	47.65
19.	Kishni	52.16
20.	Mangalsi	11.69
21.	Naipur	51.49
Sarkar total		14.62

Sarkār Bahraich

	Pargana	Jama'/ Ārāzi
1.	Bahraich ba Haveli	13.07
2.	Behra	40.10
3.	Husampur	44.19
4.	Dangdun	5.21
5.	Rajhat	41.03
6.	Sujauli	7.02
7.	Sultanpur	2.85
8.	Fakharpur	16.47
9.	Firozabad	17.79
10.	Qila Nawagarh	5.12
11.	Khuraunsa	46.15
sarkār total		13.21

Sarkār Khairabād

1.	Barwar Anjana	54.28
2.	Biswa	26.24
3.	Pali	12.78
4.	Bawan	20.67
5.	Basrah	16.41
6.	Bharwara	12.69
7.	Basora	12.69
8.	Paila	48.90
9.	Chhitapur	27.28

10.	Khairabad ba Haveli	13.58
11.	Sandi	14.42
12.	Sara	30.39
13.	Sadarpur	6.88
14.	Gopamau	52.34
15.	Kheri	12.49
16.	Kherigarh	42.49
17.	Karkhaila	29.95
18.	Khan-khatmau	76.36
19.	Laharpur	13.21
20.	Machhrehta	29.72
21.	Nimkhar	60.67
22.	Hargaon	2.98
<u>sarkār</u> total		21.95

<u>Sarkār</u> Gorakhpūr

1.	Utraula	43.59
2.	Unhaula	48.88
3.	Binayakpur	43.29
4.	Babhanpara	50.20
5.	Bhanapara	50.20
6.	Tilpur	44.41
7.	Chilaupara	44.25
8.	Dariyapur	48.45
9.	Dewapara Kalta (2m)	44.32

10.	Rehli	48.76
11.	Rasulpur wa Gori(2m)	43.80
12.	Ramgarh wa Gori (2m)	45.72
13.	Gorakhpur ba Haveli	44.83
14.	Katehla	44.44
15.	Kihlapara	40.12
16.	Mahauli	245.02
17.	Mandwa	48.06
18.	Mandla	40.81
19.	Maghar-wa Ratanpur(2m)	51.89
sarkār total		48.82

Sarkār Lucknow

1.	Amethi	26.20
2.	Unam	32.95
3.	Isauli	45.85
4.	Asiyun	14.38
5.	Asoha	20.36
6.	Unchgaon	12.61
7.	Bilgiram	26.57
8.	Banagarmau	15.69
9.	Bijlaur	31.08
10.	Bari	15.94
11.	Bahriman	30.47
12.	Nigawan	12.11

13.	Bhitauli	16.42
14.	Panhan	29.93
15.	Parsandan	26.07
16.	Patan	38.11
17.	Tara Singhaur	17.47
18.	Jhalotar	18.18
19.	Dewi	21.81
20.	Deorakh	51.68
21.	Dadra	6.83
22.	Ranharpur	32.13
23.	Ramkot	27.38
24.	Sandila	26.98
25.	Saipur	67.17
26.	Sarasi	482.17
27.	Satanpur	16.97
28.	Sahali	53.17
29.	Sidhaur	47.27
30.	Sidhpur	53.89
31.	Sisandi	49.93
32.	Sarwan	37.71
33.	Fatehpur	15.94
34.	Fatehpur Chaurasi	8.58
35.	Garh Amethi	38.00
36.	Kursi	20.95
37.	Kakori	45.43
38.	Kahanjara	36.70
39.	Ghatampur	20.17

40.	Kachhando	19.51
41.	Gorinda	22.61
42.	Kumbhi	29.93
43.	Lucknow ba Haveli	19.04
44.	Laskar	9.97
45.	Malihabad	26.46
46.	Mallanwan	43.34
47.	Mohan	32.73
48.	Mauranwan	24.66
49.	Manchiaon	22.99
50.	Mahona	19.21
51.	Manwi	26.18
52.	Makraid	32.06
53.	Hadha	15.01
54.	Hardoi	30.65
55.	Aihar	25.15
<u>sarkār</u> total		24.44

APPENDIX 'B'

Jama' and Hāsil-i Kāmil of the zabti provinces and Mughal Deccan

Subas	Zawābit-i ʿAlamgiri, Br. Mues. Add. 6598		Fraser-86		Jagjiwandas's Muntakhabut Tawārikh, Add. 26253	
	Jama'	Hāsil-i Kāmil	Jama'	Hāsil-i Kāmil	Jama'	Hāsil-i Kāmil
-A-						
1. Awadh	32,13,17,199	36,50,20,440	32,13,17,819	36,90,23,640	32,13,17,119	36,50260
2. Akbarabād	1,14,17,00,157	82,78,94,840	1,14,17,60,157	80,28,44,120	1,141760,057	52,3894
3. Shahjahanabād	1,22,29,50,177	1,24,0486,160	1,22,2950,137	1,24,0486,160	1,222950,658	27,3964400
4. Allahabād	45,65,43,278	42,39,06,840	45,65,43,248	42,38,93,640	45,65,43,248	42,3934840
5. Lāhore	89,89,32,170	66,82,55,440	89,81,32,170	74,81,75,320	89,81,32,107	74,81
-B-						
1. Auranqabād	-	-		40,20,40,000	1,0049,65000	40,2040000
2. Berār	-	-		38,46,52,360	81,40,25,000	36,065160
3. Khāndesh	-	-		16,34,68,760	34,86,30,200	14,2400760
4. Bedar	-	-		12,40,00,000	37,29,74,407	- - - - -

LAND REVENUE SYSTEM UNDER THE NAWAB WAZIRS

Land revenue formed the major source of state income under the *Nawab Wazirs*. Its size of the varied according to circumstances such as of the yields at particular harvests, fluctuations in prices and the effectiveness of the collection machinery. Butter observed, "------- there are no fixed limits to the land-revenue or rent, which he (the king) levies from its occupants, save their inability or unwillingness to pay".[1]

We have no information regarding the magnitude of the land-revenue demand in relation to the produce of the land or in relation to the surplus generated by the peasant. What we get are only the rates of land-revenue per *bigha* in rupees. By taking the prices of the agricultural products prevalent in Awadh or in the adjacent territories under the East India Company, one can then perhaps have some idea about the size of the revenue in terms of the grain.

Butter informs us that, "During that sovereign's (Sa'ādat 'Ali, 1798-1814) life, the rent of good land varied from one to

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1. Butter, *op.cit.*, p.48. British officials said the land-revenue in the light of rent; and the king was considered to be the actual proprietor of the land: "the sovereign is, agreeably to established Indian rule, the only acknowledgeed proprietor of the soil". Butter, (*p.48*). However, I have not found any native statement to this effect from Awadh.

one and half rupee per bigha, now (c.1836) the assessment is 2,3 or 4 rupees per bigha, and can seldom be fully levied without the ruin, both to rai'yat and the zamindār".[1] At another place he praises the good and judicious administration of Saadat Ali and adds, "since the death of nawab Saādat Ali ----- rent is fixed at such a rate --- generally 50% above that of former times".[2] But Heber who toured the kingdom during 1825-27 says: "I asked (the umāshta) the rent per bigha of the land. He said, generally 4 rupees, but sometimes 6; and sometimes the peasant had all taken from him."[3] It appears that he had spoken to some one who had exaggerated the matter. The revenue rates prevalent in Tiloin Raj during 1836 indicate the extent of the exaggeration. In the Chattari estate of Tiloin, "the assessment (was) allowed to remain at the old standard of 2 rupees per bigha of old arable soil and one rupee for newly reclaimed land...."[4]

Butter tells us that revenue rates per bigha in Southern Awadh varied from 2 to 4 rupees; the latter rates, he deems to be rather harsh and difficult of realization without the ruin of the payers.[5] At another place we come across the statement that because

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1. Butter, op.cit.,p.54
2. Ibid.
3. Heber, op.cit., pp. 102-3.
4. For a detailed description of the administrative arrangements in Tiloin Raj see Butter,pp.109-114.
5. Ibid., p.54. As far as the size of the bigha is concerned, some local variations are noted by Butter. But it seems that the revenue-rates and the productivity of the soil had been recorded in the standard unit of the pakka bigha (20 lathas x 20 lathas; each latha being of 100 inches). It would be unreasonable to think that the revenue-rate

contd....

of the high revenue rates the peasants were left with little for their subsistance. They had not even been left with the recources to carry on cultivation and were forced to borrow seeds from the village bankers.[1] Bishop Heber wondered how under such extremely oppressive conditions the peasants could still carry on cultivation. Thereupon he was told, "what can they (the cultivators) do ? -- --- they must eat; and when they have put the seeds in the ground, they must wait till it comes up, and then take what they can get of it."[2]

Moreover, the peasants were obliged to pay certain other afiscal dues, which in turn formed the amount of recognised perquisites of the zamindārs. Thus the faujdār was, "authorised to levy for his own benefit a rupee from every zamindār --- this gratuity is called bhent".[3] The additional fiscal obligations claimed by the superior right holders from the peasant are discussed elsewhere.[4]

Charles Elliott in his Chronicles of Oonao has given figures of land-revenue settled in that district by the 'Native Government' in 1855 and by the British in 1861. The figures suggest that the revenue levied by the Awadh authorities, at least

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.... or the productivity of the soil was recorded anywhere in kacha bigha which was only 40% of the former. However the methods by which the revenue officials dealt with the local variation in the unit are not known. Butter, pp.82-83.

1. Ibid., p.49
2. Heber, pp. 102-3.
3. Butter, p.
4. See the Chapters on the Nature of the rights of the zamindārs and of the 'Revenue grantees'.

in the first half of the 19th century, was not by any means more onerous than that levied by the British authorities, particularly since by 1861 the ravages of the mutiny and the subsequent scarcities had taken their toll. Elliott's figures are :-[1]

Parganas	1855	1861
(i) Bangarmau, etc. 3 *parganas*	Rs.2,99,240	Rs.2,99,033
(ii) Fatehpur *Chaurāsi* etc. 4 *parganas*.	Rs.2,96,274	Rs.2,77,049
(iii) Hurha, etc. 7 *parganas*	Rs.3,68,416	Rs.4,67,377
TOTAL :-	Rs.9,63,930	Rs.10,333,64

The *Nawab-Wazirs* inherited the Mughal system of revenue assessment and collection and this seems to have been largely retained by them till at least 1765. After the battle of Buxar, Shuj'aud Daulah was forced to sign a treaty with the English East India Company at Jajmau, near Kanpūr. Apart from the political implications of the treaty, the most important financial clauses of the treaty stipulated a drastic reduction of the Nawab's army and the payment of large amounts to the company for keeping its forces in Awadh. In spite of this new

1. Elliott, p.104. Jagdish Raj says,"Had this state of affairs continued(the one prevailing under the *nawab wazirs*) much longer a general desolation of the country must have followed"/JESHO, 1958,p.104/. This is open to question since he makes no comparisons with the rates/ revenue/prevailing in Awadh before the annexation and immediately after it.

financial pressure, the traditional financial structure was maintained under Shujauddaulah. But his death in 1775 marks the turning point in the history of Awadh as the British got a fresh opportunity of imposing new demands upon his successor Asafuddaulah. Under these pressures the system of _mansab_ and _jagir_ inherited from the Mughal empire was abandoned, and the Awadh government had to make arrangements for direct collection of taxation everywhere.[1]

The system of the assessment was known as _tashkhis_ while its collection from the prayers bore the name _tahsil_. The amount of land revenue was assessed separately for _kharif_ and _rabi_ harvests. The revenue for the autumn crops was divided into five monthly instalments (_qist_), while for the spring crops the payment was demanded in four.[2] These nine instalments in total were payable at the new moons, between 11th September and 12th June of the succeeding year. This rule was followed very strictly by the officials. In case of the inability of the _zamindars_ to pay the whole amount before the last lunar month (12th June) an invasion of his village was sanctioned by the _faujdar_ and soldiers were sent to attach and sell away the entire property of the defaulting land-

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1. See especially Richard B.Barnett, _North India Between the Empires_, Berkley 1980, pp.166-192; for a discussion on the methods of assessment and collection of the land-revenue in the kingdom of Awadh see Jagdish Raj,'The revenue System of the Nawabs of Oudh',_JESHO_,1954 pp. 96-104; Purnendu Basu,_Oudh and the East India Company_, Lucknow 1943, pp. 100-133.
2. Elliott, _op.cit._, pp. 137-9.

holders and zamindārs.[1]

The key point in determining the amount of taxation was that it should be in confirmity with the previous year's assessment. The actual settlement with the zamindārs took place in the month of December, as by that time the rabi crops were well forward, and an estimate could be made about the quality of the expected harvest. The chakledār ordered the tehsīldār to gather the land-owners of his pargana, along with the village accountants and qanoongo by a certain date, when the chakledār encamped on the spot to receive them. The scene in the tent of the chakledār is described in detail by Elliott. First of all the village accountant (patwāri) used to give information as to how large an area of land of such and such crop was under cultivation. The qanoongo, by his personal knowledge of the condition of the crops, would confirm the report of patwāri. The tehsīldār reported on the actual realization made from the village during the previous year. At the same time he gave his opinion as to whether the amount of the land-revenue should be raised this year or not. Most often suggestions of an increase came from the tehsīldār out of collusion with some land-holder who might be interested in taking the particulars village on farm. Naturally, such suggestion when made was contested vehemently by the actual

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1. Butter, op.cit.,pp. 100-1.

owners of that village who insisted that they were already ruined men and could not pay as much as had been paid last year. But in case the original owner wished to retain his village, he had to agree to make some settlement with the chakl dār with some enhancement over the last year's figure. Otherwise the village was 'settled' with the new land-holder who was agreeable to raising the amount of the tax. The trick often was that next year the tehsīldār would report that the village had been very much over assessed, and recommend that the amount of demand be reduced to the original one, or even less than the actual realization of the previous year.[1]

We get little information as regards the determination of the share of the burden placed on the individual peasant. Since the village was assessed as a unit, there is every reason to believe that the distribution of taxes among individual peasants could have been very unequal and unjust. Moreover the system gave full liberty to the land holders to deal with the peasantry as they thought fit.

Butter informs us that the land-revenue was fixed on the basis of the actual cultivated area in bighas.[2] According to him, the reign of Nawab Sa'adat 'Ali (1798-1814) marked the water shed in the agrarian history of Awadh. With him departed

1. Elliott, op.cit., pp. 137-9.
2. Butter, op.cit., p.54 & pp.109-114.

"the permanent prosperity of the country". This was now "adjusted to the exigencies of the year, to the suddenness and extravagance of the ruling powers, and to the rapacity of the temporary local authority. During that sovereign's life, the rent of good land varied from one to one and half rupee a bigha: now (1[illegible]6) the assessment is 2, 3, or 4 rupees per bigha and can seldom be fully levied, without ruin, both to ra'iyat and zamindar".[1]

Apart from the relatively low revenue rates then prevailing, the peasants enjoyed some security of tenures under Sa'adat Ali Khan. The leases and acceptance were executed to run from 3 to 5 years.[2] These fiscal documents were signed, sealed, and verified by the various revenue officials such as the zamindars, qanungos, diwan, faujdar and chakledar.[3] But after the death of Sa'adat Ali in 1814 the entire picture underwent a change, as thereafter, "No lease has been granted for more than a year and rent is fixed at such a rate generally 50% above that of former times as to leave the farmer (peasants) little, beyond a bare subsistance."[4]

The Government officials most often made the revenue-settlements with the local Chieftains and the community brother-

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1. Heber, op.cit., pp. 102-3
2. Butter, op.cit., p.54
3. Ibid., p.49.
4. Heber, pp. 100-1

nous. The local magnates remitted a fixed sum to the treasury, while it was left to them to assess and collect the amount from the other members of the communities. The most notable example of this class has been provided by Butter in connection with the family of the Chattāri Rajputs established at Tiloin in chakla Salon. The head of the brotherhood was Shankar Singh, styled Raja. He had to pay Rs.7,50,000 as land-revenue on behalf of the whole brotherhood. Each member of the fraternity paid his share of the land-revenue to him. The chakledār received this amount without any difficulty. The peasants of the Tiloin estate were assessed very lightly, i.e. the rate of the arable land was Rs.2/- per bigha, while one rupee was charged for newly reclaimed land. As a matter of fact it seems that since such estates had some hereditary interests, a fairly good and judicious system of revenue administration here prevailed. Butter describes Tiloin as, "one pleasing oasis amidst this wide spread social waste."[1] Probably because of the existence of such estates "the district of Salon has long enjoyed a degree of tranquility unknown to any other part of Oudh.--"[2]

When the nawāb-wazirs made arrangements for direct revenue collection through their own officials, he appointed the 'āmils, nāzims, chakledārs and tehsildārs. These officials were expected to remit to the treasury whatever amount they

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1. Butter, pp. 109-114.
2. Ibid.

to l [illegible] t. [illegible] sum was specified as such. The system was known as amanee (trust management).

The revenue-collectors ('amils) were assisted in their work by the hereditary village officials such as the chaudhari, and the qanungo. In case a higher amount of the land-revenue was insisted upon by them, the share of the individual village or of the zamindars was determined by these officials.[1] These revenue-collectors, as a part of their duty, looked after the law and order of the area. In case of any difficulty, they would seek military help from the faujdar.[2]

The revenue-officers under the amanee system were almost free from any constraints of paying the specified sum in the public treasury. They could often enrich themselves at the expenses of both the nawabs and the land-holders. The only thing these were expected to do, was to pay large bribes to the court officials so as to be sure that their accounts would be dealt with leniently. However, the history of Awadh, under the amanee system, to quote an English official, was, "a disgraceful tale of the shameless spoliation of the ra'iyat by all classes, from the minister, who stood behind the throne, to the lowest peon who served a process on the zamindar." The system was so designed as to succeed only if the revenue officials worked honestly and were vigilantly

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1. Ibid.
2. Ibid.
3. Montgomery R., Administrative Report of Oudh 1858-9, [illegible], cited in [illegible], 1958, p.101.

supervised by the minister in charge of the revenue department. But in actual fact, if any minister ever tried to know anything, he could get no information as the, "news writers are in the pay of the 'amils (being) generally their servants."[1] The system had to be given up in despair, as it impoverished the state while it had substantially increased the wealth of the revenue collectors. An idea could be gathered from the fact that as per testimony of an English official, Maddock, "the nazrana received by one minister (Mahmudood daulah) amount(ed) to more than 17 lacs of rupees"; and he estimated that the 'amil's share among them nearly 50 lacs of rupees yearly."[2] This state of affairs continued for long, and Lalji, protests at the unseemly behaviour of the 'amils and the ineptitude of the high officials to cope with them. "The 'amils of different area (misappropriate) lakhs of the rupees and (show) it under heads of the various proper and improper items of expenditure, while the authorities of the revenue department (in collusion with them) deal leniently with their accounts, and write-off the amount (as irrecoverable)."[3] Thus the kingdom of Awadh was ~~thus~~ robbed of its resources by its own officials.

The visit of the chakledar in any area for the purpose of revenue collection was most dreaded by the zamindars as well as the peasants. For with him, "the work of plunder and devastation commences with the uprooting of the neighbouring villages,

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1. Kingdom of Oudh' Calcutta Review vol.III,1845,p.387.
2. Ibid., p. 387.
3. Lalji, Mir'atul Auza'

to supply temporary huts for his troops."[1] When the chakledār contemplated any move to raise the amount of land-revenue, it was usually resisted by the land-holders, "the zamindārs and their immediate adherents at the same time"[2] took flight to the dense forests and mud forts," surrounded by a ditch and dense fence of living bamboos, through which cannon shot cannot penetrate."[3] Butter cites the example of the zamindārs of Kain in pargana Jalon. The zamindar Isri Singh punctually remitted a sum of Rs.1 lac as the land-revenue, still he thought it fit to maintain 5,000 men for collecting the land-revenue and fighting the chakledār when the necessity arose. The peasants were lightly assessed and held extensive farms varying from 20 to 100 bighas. In 1[illegible]7, the chakledār Kunnenlal enhanced the demand by ten thousand rupees. Isri Singh, not agreeing to pay the enhanced rates, mustered his tropps and held the village against the chakledār, until the approach of newly raised brigade of Colonel Roberts. The zamindārs was now forced to retire to the neighbouring jungal, and his house was burnt down by the chakledār. On occasion the refugee zamindārs were forced to remain in jungals for years.[4]

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1. Butter, op.cit., 51-54
2. Ibid.
3. Sleeman, op.cit., p.257.
4. Butter, op.cit., p.57

The military element in the process of the revenue collection seems to have been always very important. Regular forces had to be maintained to ensure the realization of the stipulated amount, these forces being known as the *mut'aiyanah*. In case these forces were thought insufficient at the time of the harvesting season, additional troops were recruited to assist the revenue collectors and revenue farmers the additional recruits being called *sehbandi*.[1] The *sehbandi* troops were employed by the *'āmils* as well as the agents of the *jāgirdār* in the early period, at the approach of every harvesting season. A *qubūliyat* executed by the *ijāradār* for a *jāgir* in pargana [illegible] in 1116F/1708, excludes the cost of maintaining the *sehbandi* troops from the total amount to be paid to the *jāgirdār*.[2] In a document of Asafuddaulah's reign, we find one revenue-collector saying that, "the *rabi* harvest is approaching and the (number) of the *sehbandi* troops is not adequate; so it is requested that one *tamān* (contingent) be sent with Khwaja Rahman for the necessary work; when the *sehbandi* (troops) are recruited, the said *taman* will be returned."[3]

[illegible]man passed through the district of Sandilah in the course of his tour, he found the *'amil* of the district possessing a considerable force. The district was put under the *amanee* system and the *'āmil* Husain Bakhsh had three regiments of *najibs* and twelve guns. The soldiers of these battalions,

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1. Barnett, *op.cit.*, pp.166-192.
2. [illegible]
3. Inamullah Raghib, *Ausāf-i Asaf*, MS. Abdul Salam Collection, Maulana Azad Library, AMU, ff-72a-b.

says Sleeman, "are a terrible scourge to the country - by far the worst that the country suffers under."[1] Although the soldiers were always expected to accompany the '*āmils*, and there was hardly any occasion when their services were not needed in collection of the revenue, yet the troops and artillery were never kept in a working condition. The bullocks employed to carry the gun carriges were utterly useless, so much so that when Sleeman passed from the district, the '*āmil* had to, "hire a few plough bullocks from the cultivators to draw out two guns to my camp to fire the solute."[2] With the help of such unorganised force, the revenue was collected with the utmost harshness, and in doing so all the limits were crossed. Revenue collection, it was said, "resembles rather the levying of tribute in a hostile country, than the enforcement of the claims of a lawful sovereign upon his own subjects."[3]

During the mid 19th century Awadh, Sleeman as well as Lalji are unequivocal in declaring the '*āmils* and other revenue collection to be responsible for increase in banditry. The reasons for the ravages and the depredation of the country, says Lalji, "are that the settlement of the revenue upon those who pay it, is not made in accordance with their portions and shares in this country --- the '*āmils* and the revenue contractors never

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1. Sleeman, *op.cit.*, p. 182
2. Sleeman, *op.cit.*,p.
3. Edward Thornton, *A Gazetteer of the territories under the Government of the East India Company and the native states on the Continent of India*, London 1854, p.37.

respected the agreement and having the temptation to raise the amount, they never allowed the due share to the share holder."[1] At another place Lalji says that peace would have prevailed, "if the '*amil* had given half [illegible] to the local ---'[2] Sleeman too cited an instance from the district of Muhammadi, where the "'*amil* Khwaja Muhammad wanted to increase the rate of the government demand on the village from [illegible] to 150 - that they (the owners) refused to pay"[3] while another *ta'lluqdar* of the locality agreed to pay the enhanced rate of revenue; and this led to the depredation and lawlessness in the area. The followers of one land-holder "attacked, plundered and burnt down the village and killed his (the previous owner's) brother with his two sons."[4]

The revenue collectors had been held responsible on a number of occasions for their negligence in performing the duties, and giving a free hand to depredators, and highway robbers. Sleeman indeed charges the '*amil* of [illegible] Birchandra Singh for his, "notoriously conniving at these crimes (gang-robbery) from a consciousness of utter inability to contend with the land-holders who commit them".[5] At the same time, we are informed that he had a big force at his disposal, "sufficient to keep in order a district five times as large."[6] His forces

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1. The third section of the chapter two of *Mir'at-ul-Auza'* is entitled, "A description of the occurrences of depredations and murders as a result of the arbitrary manner of the '*amils* and revenue collectors" ff. 11b-22b.
2. *Ibid.*, f.15a
3. Sleeman, Vol.II, pp.221-2.
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Ibid.*, pp.221-2
6. *Ibid.*

included one *jānnisār* battalion, *zulfiqār* battalion, and the *jagred* battalion. Nine guns and a squadron of horses were also kept by him.[1]

The fact was that the '*āmils* and other revenue officials were often in collusion with the leaders of the robber-gangs. In the course of his tour Sleeman found, at many places that "ruffians residing in the camp of the neighbouring villages', were to be found in the camp of '*āmil*."[2] Even if the '*āmils* were not in league with such elements, they 'get their [illegible] ?) aid in punishing defaulters or the [illegible] defaulters among the land-holders."[3] The support extended by them to the '*āmils*, helped the latter to realize the land-revenue with little difficulty; and in return of this, he shut his eyes to their activities. The '*āmil* of Dureeabad Raja [illegible] Singh, says Sleeman, "acquieces in all the atrocities committed by these robbers, and is in consequence, able to collect his revenues and secure the favours of the court."[4]

The revenue collectors used to make conciliatory gestures towards the big land-holders so as to make them agree to pay the land-revenue. They even went to the extend of giving an absolute increase in their share of *nānkār*, which was quite contrary to the royal orders. They bribed the high and influential officials at the court to get sanction for the increased share of the *nānkār*. In case, it was not sanctioned, the offending

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1. *Ibid*
2. *Ibid*
3. *Ibid*
4. *Ibid*

[illegible] to the 'amils and declared that he will [illegible] right to the increase (of the nānkār) be [illegible].[1]

[illegible] use of the military force by the [illegible] was a common occurrence. The [illegible] of even unoffending villages could be attacked by the [illegible] 'amils in order to [illegible]. In case of any difficulty in quelling these [illegible], the revenue officers were at liberty to ask the commandant of the English forces for, "sending him the aid of two battalions and heavy artillery."[2] The English civil and military officers were advised to exercise the utmost caution before they complied "with the requisition of the 'amil."[3] The English resident to the court of Awadh lord [illegible] informed the governor-general in 180[illegible] that, "he sanctioned it (use of British troops) after a careful and minute investigation of each and every case."[4] Yet British arms and troops were employed so indiscriminately by the 'amils in punishing the 'pretended rebels' and devastating the country that it was suggested by [illegible] in 1[illegible] that such assistance be discontinued altogether.[5]

An off-shoot of the amānī system was the qabz system. The nāzim used to assign a portion of the land from his estate

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1. Ibid.
2. Foreign Secret Consultations(iii) 8th Jan.1778 N.A.I Delhi.
3. Ibid.
4. [illegible], 1[illegible], p.1[illegible]
5. Ibid.

to the commandant of the troops in order to collect the revenue and pay salaries to his troops. Since the soldiers knew it to be their only means of livelihood, they used to collect the amount with the utmost harshness.[1] Sleeman describes, in detail, the Lakulame qabz (obligation to collect and pay a certain sum, for which the estate is held liable the Persian term being presumably lā-kalāmī qabz) and the wasūli qabz (obligation to pay the collector or troops a sum which the commandant may be able to collect. In the second method the work of the collection was carried out by the commandant and his soldiers. Sleeman observes, "If they can't collect it from the sale of all the crops of the season, they seize and sell the stock and the property of all kinds to be found on the estate; and if this will not suffice, they will not scruple to seize and sell the women and children."[2] Still quite strangely this system was thought to be less oppressive to the peasantry than the actual collection of the land-revenue by the nāzim of that area himself. Lālji explains, the actual mechanism of the qabz system:

"If any officer (afsar) of the military forces posted in the area. If any had amounts outstanding for payment of the salaries of the troops, he would submit the qabz for one lac of rupees before the 'āmil."(3)

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1. Sleeman, op.cit., pp. 140-1
2. Sleeman, op.cit., pp. 140-1
3. Lālji, op.cit., f 43a

Lalji says that if an officer of the artillery had a sum of Rs. - 15,000 outstanding, he would make a claim [illegible] of [illegible] and the control of an area with that [illegible] for one lac. With his taking charge the [illegible] would commence as instead of one [illegible], and nothing [illegible] would be demanded from them. The [illegible] and [illegible] also [illegible] in various ways. A number of [illegible] were levied by the commandant under various [illegible], such as rusum-i [illegible], [illegible], [illegible] and [illegible]. The officers alone were the beneficiaries of these [illegible], says Lalji, the troops were to remain satisfied with their pay, and that too on occasions remained unpaid for [illegible] months or for a year. Some times the entire amount was left by the officer, and the soldiers got nothing.[1]

[illegible] an example from the district of [illegible] the [illegible] system. The nazim Wajid Ali [illegible], the head of the Munuapur estate. Although she remitted Rs.50,000/= regularly to the Government, she was made to enter into agreement with a body of the troops to pay them 11 months pay out of the revenue-collections of the ensuing year. The troops were to give the receipts for the ful amount of the arrears of their pay. These receipts, in turn, were to be forwarded to the darbār as the nāzim Wajid 'Ali might get credit for the amount in his previous years accounts. As

1. Lalji, op.cit., ff. 43a-44b.

Sughra could collect only Rs.15,000/= from the tenants since their crops were destroyed by the troops, she was put into confinement and was subjected to most cruel indiginities.

It should not be assumed that this was a solitary instance; such practices were a common phenomenon among the nāzims of the district. They borrowed large sums on the basis of the revenues of the ensuing year. The work of revenue-collection was entrusted to the troops whose pay claims had fallen into the arrears. It was common for these troops either to destroy the crops or to extract the double amount from the cultivators. This practice was said to be "the source of much evil."[1]

The tahsil system was introduced only when the mustājirs and 'āmils were unable to enforce payment in any way. The commandants of the troops, when taking possession of their assignment, appropriated the whole produce for themselves. They had little regard for the rights of the zamindārs or the peasants. As the side-effect of the system, the troops were rendered unfit for any sort of military service as all their time was consumed in making arrangements in their respective 'estates'. The soldiers as well as the officers were converted into "manorial understrappers of the worst possible description."[2] They used to

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1. Sleeman, vol.I, p.86
2. Ibid., vol.I, p.86

[illegible] from the payment that might [illegible] when he could [illegible]. [illegible] the government, the rest was [illegible] the [illegible] and their officers. In [illegible] the [illegible] of [illegible] the [illegible] system was [illegible], [illegible] in the kingdom of Awadh and was getting [illegible] during the [illegible] century.

[illegible] the amani system [illegible] such inbuilt defects as to [illegible] everywhere. The experiment made by Mir [illegible] the Residency, to implement this [illegible] more quite successfully, at least for a [illegible], during the reign of Amjad Ali Shah, [illegible] mis-management of the kingdom. Herein, [illegible] Amin-ud-daulah, the prime minister, suggested [illegible] to take the assignment of an area and [illegible] the proposed reform there. He agreed to the proposal on the condition, that there should be no interference from any [illegible]. Accordingly, he was entrusted the ilaqa of Bijnore. All [illegible] its total jama' was about one lac of rupees, its villages [illegible] ruined through oppression, and the total realisation from the area never exceeded Rs.50,000/=. Mir Hasan himself [illegible] the area, contrary to the practice of

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1. Ibid., vol.I, [illegible]-56.

[illegible] official[illegible], and executed regularly to [illegible] the *zamindars* and the [illegible], wherever the latter [illegible]. [illegible] this, the hereditary *zamindars*, who had [illegible] their villages as a result of the rapacity of the previous *ʿamils*, returned and entered into agreements with Mir Hasan. He established such a judicious system of the revenue collection in the area, that the *zamindars* used to send their revenue to the treasury without any demand or *talbana* being [illegible] them. At the end of the year Mir Hasan was able to deposit Rs.70,000/= in the nawab's treasury after meeting all the expenses incurred in the administrative arrangements. The peasants of the area became quite prosperous and acts of banditry and bloodshed became fewer. The outstanding success achieved by Mir Hasan was taken as a challenge to their authority by the officials and the court favourites. Hence he was [illegible] of his assignment and new officials were [illegible] in his place. Under the new officials the territory returned to the situation in which Mir Hasan had found it.[1]

The working of the *amani* system was directly controlled by the high officials of the Nawab. The *ʿamalguzars* were appointed [illegible] these *ʿamils* with the consent of these officials. They were expected to collect the revenue as per village [illegible]; and at the end of the year whatever collection

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1. *Ibid.* ff. 16b-19a.

could be made was remitted to the treasury of the nawab. If any amount was left to be realized, it was debited to the account of these mālguzārs. Apart from collecting of the revenue, they were expected to make customary gifts to the 'āmils and his establishment.

During the later period of the Awadh administration the amānee system of became subject to as many evils as the ijāra system. When the authorities used to assign an area to the 'āmil under this system, they used to take an iqrārnāma from him, just as the mustājirs used to give qubūliyat. The 'āmils' iqrārnāma was the effect that a stipulated amount of jama' would be paid to the treasury at the end of the year and in case of his failure to discharge the obligation, he was to be held responsible for the default. The nawābi establishment attached to the amāni district had little say in the affairs of the 'āmil. The 'āmil used to realise large amount of customary gifts which were above to the amount stated in iqrārnāma. Thus large fortunes might be made by 'āmils from such extra levies. After the appointment of the 'āmil to an amāni district, he would show large amounts of deductions on account of the expeditions sent against the t'aaluqadārs; similarly a number of fictitious accounts were submitted to the court. On occasion the stackness of the statis supervision over the activities of these 'āmils, enboldened them so much that they realised the revenues of an 'ilāqa' but did not pay anything into the nawāb's treasury. Indeed Lālji laments

that the raaya suffer more hardship in the hands of these *'amils*, than by the revenue collectors of the *mustajirs*."[1]

Often revenue arrangements were made with large community-brotherhoods in the areas where caste ties were strong. Their chiefs, styled rajas, in their turn made agreements with the heads of their minor branches. Areas, where such arrangements existed, were free from the interference of the *chakledars* and *'amils*, that the peasants enjoyed some security of tenures. The rate of assessment, too, remained as we have already seen in one case, "at the old standard of 2 Rs. per *bigha* of old arable soil and 1 Re. per *bigha* for newly reclaimed land; generally, the rates in such estates was about two-thirds of what prevailed elsewhere.[2] Francis Buchanan in his survey of the mughal *sarkar* of Gorakhpur found that the hereditary chiefs the revenues to the treasury or the *'amils* as the case might be, while they "managed their estates by letting each *mauza* or *deh* to a *Britia* or *Bikmi*."[3] These *birtias* were the hereditary chiefs of their brotherhoods, and the arrangement was made with the brotherhoods rather than with the individual chiefs, as the ablest member of the brother hood was chosen by the members themselves to represent their interest with the *raja* . In case of his discharging the duties dishonestly, his dismissal could be procured by other members of the brotherhood. In case the *raja* was dissatisfied with

1. *Ibid.*, ff. 22b-25a.
2. Butter, pp. 109-114
3. Martin, *op.cit.*, p.546

the conduct of the birtia, he would appoint a mahto from the same clan to perform duties in place of the dismissed birtia. In such arrangements the proprietary rights of the peasants were not protected as they could be evicted at the will of the raja, and the qubuliyats, if made, ran for a short period. Still since most of the cultivators were the members of the same brotherhood, and the rāja had to depend upon there support at times of emergency, oppression of the peasants in respect of tenure and assessment was often avoided. In course of time, due to the internal conflicts and laxity of caste-ties and the effects of indebtedness, the power of the local chiefs (rājas) faded away. This process, in turn, offered an opportunity to the 'āmils and revenue officials of the nawāb-wazīr to assert their authority over the Chieftains in demanding regular payment of the revenues. The situation was supposedly tolerable under Shuja' uddaula, but Aṣafuddaulah formed out the entire region to one Col. Hanny, on the recommendation of the Governor General. This gentleman adapted such "v lent measures in the collection, as to depopulate the country". The traces of such destruction of the country's agriculture were to be perceived even after a number of years.[1]

The system of making arrangements with the local chieftains seems to have continued in the southern districts of Awadh during the first half of the 19th c. Butter, while

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1. Martin, vol.II, pp. 546-48.

describing the unique administration of the Tiloin estate in Salon district, says that the chief of the chattari family was one Shankar Singh, who was styled Raja of Tiloin. He used to pay Rs.7,50,000 for the whole Tiloin zamindari to the chakledar. The payment was made regularly without giving any pretence to the chakledar for making any attempt at undue exaction. The five brothers of Shankar Singh were also courteously styled rajas, while his nephews were called Thakur they remitted the specified revenues of their share to Shankar Singh punctually. In case the sub-zamindars showed any defiance, he was, "left to be dealt with by the chakledar, who puts him in fetters, and levies the rent from the ra'iyats." The zamindar was not released, "untill he (gave) security for the future regular payment"[1]. Apart from the such occasions, the chakledar could never make any undue demand from the zamindars. This being known to the neighbouring zamindar as well, "they sometimes make successful appeals at Lucknow, against the chakledars' exactions."[2]

Besides the above revenue arrangements, the chief method employed under the nawab-wazirs for the purpose of revenue collection was the ijara or contract system. By employing this method, the nawabi Government ensured a fixed amount for the treasury establishment. Under this system the muta'iynah and the

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1. Butter, pp. 109-114
2. Ibid., p. [illegible]

sehbandi troops were maintained and paid for by the revenue farmers themselves.[1] Even the hereditary officers serving in the *ijara* villages were also paid their salaries by the revenue-contractors.[2] The system had become so popular that the land-grantees (*a'immadars*) started making farming arrangements with the *mustajirs* in the villages of their grants.[3] The *ijaradars* had of course, no salary or land grant in view of the services performed by him but as Butter put it, "the difference between the sum, which he has for the year engaged to pay into the public treasury," and the amount which, with the military power of the state at his command he can levy from the *zamindar*, constitutes his income.[4] In case of the natural calamities the *ijaradar* could be provided some relief by allowing a deduction, and by not insisting for the full amount for which the contract had been made.

In theory the contractors could have an interest in improving the lot of the peasantry and raising the productivity of the soil, thus to generate a larger peasant's surplus. The

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1. A *qubuliyat* deed executed in 1116F/1708, by one Diler Khan for a *jagir* in pargana Sandila, stipulates a payment of Rs.22000/- to the *jagirdar*. This excluded the cost of maintaining *sih-bandi* troops and *peshkash* to *faujdar*. FMI-1487(1116/1708).
2. FMI-1287 (1254/1838). This *pargana* was issued to the *chakledar* of Sandila to enquire the complaint of a village *patwari* regarding his pay claims against the *mustajir*.
3. FM-84 (4th R.Y. of Farrukhsiyar). The village in question belonged to Mulla Nizamuddin and was situated in *sarkar* Bahraich, while the grantee's headquarters happened to be at Lucknow. (Firangi Mahal papers are preserved in the Department of History, AMU, Aligarh).
4. Butter, p. 99.

tenure of the contract was for a number of years and the paying an increase in capacity of the peasants would have benefited the contractors themselves. But this was not so in practice. Wajid Ali, the nazim of Partapgarh, under whose ijara lay the ta'alluqa of Mundone in pargana Nawabgunj, designedly discouraged the cultivation of the district in the hope that none else should venture to form the revenues of the district with such a scanty tillage and so he would go on retaining the contract on more favourable terms.[1] The treasury incurred heavy losses on account of the oppressions of these contractors, but the high officials of the state too were a party in such designs. Wajid Ali, the nazim, had a balance of Rs.12 lacs, when he was replaced by another nazim; but says Sleeman, he would get the balance written-off from his name by paying Rs.2 lacs in bribe to the minister and other influential persons at the court, and just paying Rs. one lac to the treasury. Ironically there was no bar imposed upon his getting a contract for some other district subsequently.[2]

During the last quarter of the 18th century about 85% of the total jama' of the kingdom of Awadh was formed out to the revenue contractors. About 1780 there were 18 big and small contractors, but the bulk of the territory was in the hands of 4 revenue farmers controlling 65% of the total jama. These were

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1. Sleeman, pp. 114-5.
2. Ibid.

Almas Ali Khan, 'Ainuddin Khan, Bhawani Singh and Ghulām Husain Khan. The table prepared by R.B.Barnett is reproduced here to show the relative position of the contractors and the deductions claimed by these revenue farmers c. 1780. Since most of the columns are self explanatory, they need no comments. However it should not be assumed that the cost of the collection 25.2% of the total jama' collected) and the deductions (12.9% of the total jama' collected) claimed by the contractor had in any way increased during this period.[1] There exists a qubuliyat deed executed in 1116F/1708 by one Dilawar for a jāgir in pargana Sandilah, having a jama' of 41 lacs dāms.(=Rs.1,02,500). In all, excluding the cost of maintaining the sehbandi troops and peshkash to faujdār, Rs.22001/- were to be paid to the jāgirdār in two instalments[2] - here, therefore, the 'military' expenses amounted to well above 20 %.

Buchanan in his survey of Gorakhpur points out that the 'āmils appointed by the nawāb's government generally took the revenues on farm from the government. They then made their own settlements with the land-holders for the period of their tenure. But these agreements were hardly ever respected as the intentions of the contracting parties were contradictory; the 'amils wanted to establish their authority over the chieftains by

1. R.B. Barnett, pp. 181-191
2. NAI 1487.

pretending a settlement, while the land-holders sought to procure the help of the 'āmil against their adversaries. Although the 'āmils dealt with these chiefs quite firmly, they did not wish generally as to lower their prestige and status. Such a policy on part of the 'āmils had created such conditions that the actual amount of the revenue was ----- quite unconnected with the settlement."[1] Oftenly it was that "some governors ('āmils) were unable to collect as much revenue) as much they paid to the nawab."[2] But generally, the 'āmils used to accumulate a great deal of wealth and power during the tenure of their contract of which they were often deprived of all on their return to the capital.[3]

During the first half of the 19th century, the nāzims and chakledārs generally held entire districts on contract, all the big and small estates of the district falling under their jurisdictions. These officers enjoyed practically unlimited powers in their dealings with the ta'alluqadārs. Indeed the visit of the chakledār to a village of the land-holders was thought to be a natural calamity, and the zamindārs used often to prepare for battle at the news of the approach of an oppressive chakledār. Generally, the zamindār retired the neighbouring jungal with his family and immediate retainers

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1. Martin vol.II, p.549.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.

after making a summary levy of the revenues from the cultivators. But on such occasions the *chakledār* too used to realize the Government dues from the very some poor peasants, who had already paid the levy to the *zamindārs*.[1]

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1. Cutter, pp. 50-1.

TABLE 'A'

Revenue farmers in c.1780, and the cost of collecting the land revenues and deductions allowed to the contractors.

Sl.No.	Farmers name	*ijara*	1 Gross *jama'*	1 Per cent of the total *jama'*	2 Deductions in 1779-80.	2 Per cent of *jama'*
1.	Almas 'Ali Khan	Kara Jhara	Rs.64,60,831	23.2 %	500,000	7.7 %
2.	'Ainuddin Khan	Bareili	50,00,000	17.9 %	575,000	11.5 %
3.	Bhawani Singh	Bainswara	38,78,748	13.9 %	301,039	7.8 %
4.	Muhammad Husain Khan	Gorakhpur/Bahraich	21,82,904	7.8 %	810,904	37.1 %
5.	Mirza Ali Raza	Khairabad	10,50,371	3.8 %	100,317	9.6 %
6.	Maiku Singh	Dalmau,Bareili	8,34,891	3.0 %	129,151	15.5 %
7.	Isma'il Beg Khan	Allahabad	7,06,000	2.5 %	59,000	8.4 %
8.	Mirza Nur Beg	Azangarh/ Mahaul	6,64,864	2.4 %	139,063	20.9 %
9.	Mirza Mehdi	Sandila/Malihabad	5,17,161	1.9 %	158,301	30.6 %
10.	Nawab Muzaffar Jang	Farrukhabad	4,50,000	1.6 %	--	---
11.	Jhau lal	Sansi	3,67,800	1.3 %	67,800	18.4 %
12.	Amber Ali Khan	Anhuna/Sandila	3,28,280	1.2 %	--	--
13.	Mir Nahim Khan	Kursi	3,24,326	1.2 %	146,821	45.3 %
14.	Khahim Khan	Pali	2,25,776	0.8 %	--	--
15.	Chait Singh	Khairagarh	2,00,000	0.7 %	--	--
16.	Isma'il Beg Khan	Mahmudda	1,50,000	0.5 %	--	--
17.	Kewal Ram	Manalari	1,20,000	0.4 %	36,895	32.4 %
18.	Mir Ali Khan	Mahaur	49,578	0.2 %	--	--
	Total :		2,35,11,565	84.3 %	30,26,396	12.9 %

3	4	5		
Reserved Asaf's account	Reserved, Company's account.	Muhal charges, transport, crops etc.	Percent of jama'	Per cent of jama' or actually collected.
5,00,000	20,00,000	15,99,669	30.9 %	61.3 %
-	25,00,000	6,37,141	12.7 %	75.8 %
8,74,004	13,00,000	11,10,393	28.7 %	63.6 %
-	10,00,000	4,76,553	21.8 %	40.1 %
-	3,32,000	5,85,170	55.7 %	34.7 %
4,04,796	-	2,54,695	30.5 %	54.0 %
-	3,50,000	1,61,313	22.8 %	68.8 %
-	1,50,000	3,92,285	59.0 %	20.1 %
-	2,00,000	1,46,016	28.2 %	41.2 %
-	5,50,000*	61,276	13.6 %	86.4 %
1,69,355	--	1,04,860	27.9 %	53.7 %
2,55,357	--	69,712	21.2 %	78.8 %
66,048	--	None**	--	54.7 %
4,75,776 +++	--	None++	--	?
--	2,00,000	4,890	2.4 %	96.9 %
1,50,000	--	None++	--	?
81,105	--	None++	--	67.6 %
--	--	6,196	12.5 %	87.3 %
29,76,620 (10.7% of the total jama')	1,06,62,000 (45.4% of all forms)	Rs.59,30,274	25.2 %	61.9 %

CHAPTER VI

THE ZAMINDĀRS

(A) Zamindāri rights and their nature:

The Zamindārs formed a hereditary class of superior rights holders. There were a number of local synonyms used to designate the holders of these rights in Awadh. For example, the term satārhi appears in our documents as an interchangeable word for zamindāri under the formula,'zamindāri known as satārhi.[1] In the earliest available sale-deed from Akbar's reign (988/1580 A.D.) we find a group of 13 muqqaddams selling jointly their satārhi known as biswi' in the village of Manchankapur in pargana Sandila.[2] In another sale-deed (994/1586 A.D.), the term milk has been used for satārhi so that the right alienated is styled 'milk-dar-imlāk-e-satārhi[3]'. In yet another sale-deed of the 17th century the word milkiyat has been put as an equivalent for satārhi, but the papers from the subsequent century (c. 1763) use the same formula with the addition of a conjunction viz., 'milkiyat and zamindāri known as satārhi', thus seemingly making milkiyat

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1. Allahabad 310 (1198/1783) and 415 (1198/1783).

2. RAA-1165 (988/1580 A.D.).

3. Allahabad-317 (994/1585) by this deed, some Brahmans had sold their, 'milk-dar-imlāk-e-satārhi & sai' of the ten villages to one Miyan Aman for a consideration of 1560 sikka-e-murādi. The rights and the privileges transferred by way of this deed were numerous.

and zamindāri into two distinct rights.[1] A sale-deed (c.1720) speaks of 'milkiyat rights, in satārhi' and other zamindāri rights as two different things.[2] The Persian word haftdēhi (one-seventeenth) is also found as a literal equivalent of the word satārhi during the later period.[3]

Another set of sale-deeds from pargana Bilgram, sarkār Lucknow, give the formula milk-i-khotī (proprietary right in khotī) to designate the superior rights in village. The earliest of these documents (c. 1540) sets out the sale milk-i-khotī of a certain village for 100 tanka 'Ādli. These rights included control over trees, streams, ponds and water channels.[4] Again in two 18th century transactions, the term milk had been applied to denote fiscal perquisites. These included rights over trees, streams, ponds, mahat and khaildāri, water and jungle rights (jalkar and bankar).[5]

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1. Allahabad-435 (1110/1698).
2. Bilgiram - 40.
3. Allahabad-199.
4. Sharaif-e-'Usmani, p.120.
5. The sale-deed (c. 1716) records that the 17 biswa mata' of village Posinda and 15 biswa mata' of village Shaikhanpur was in haqq-wa-milk of the executants by virtue of the inheretance. These rights were sold in consideration of Rs.650/- only. See Ibid., p.82. While in another deed (c.1741) 6 biswa mata' of village Bhanknapur was mortgaged for Rs. 77/-. The buyer was to enjoy the benefits of mālikana from crops, mehat, khildāri, jalkar and bankar till he gets back the amount of mortgage. Bilgiram-64 (1154/1741).

18th century sale-deeds from *pargana* Sandila, *sarkār* Lucknow lead us to infer that *milkiyat* rights derived from *satārhi* and other superior rights were quite different from the right to appropriate the land-revenue (*haqq-e-akhāz-e-kharāj*) as these two rights over the same village could be sold separately. In 1759, one Shah Muhammad Akbar Ali sold his *milkiyat* rights derived from *satarhi* and other *zamindāri* rights over two *bighas* of land in village Khajurpati, *pargana* Sandila, for the sum of Rs.6/-. But the right to appropriate the land-revenue over the same land was not sold then. This was subsequently transferred in exchange for a plot of the residential land in 1763. But in the same year this plot of residential land too was sold in consideration of the sum of Rs. 15/-[1] from these figures we may take it that, assuming these prices to represent the capitalised values, the *zamindār*'s income from his own rights was about 2/5th of the land-revenue. Surely, it was not an insubstantial amount.

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1. Allahabad-355 (c. 1759), 439 (c. 1763) and 443 (1763). Of course there are other cases as well, where the *zamindāri* rights and the right to appropriate the land-revenue were sold separately. But as a result of gaps in the chain of the documents a comparision with the capitalised value of the *zamindāri* rights could not be attempted. In 1760 one Ain-ud-dīn sold the *zamindāri* rights over one *bigha* for Rs.3/- excluding the right to appropriate the land revenue, which was subsequently sold in exchange of a residential plot of land. See Allahabad-432 (1760) and 444 (1766).

As for the substance of the zamindāri rights the documents from Sandila, Bilgiram and Khairabad established the fact that possession of village ponds, and water channels,[1] including water products such as Shāli-e-abi-khudrau ('self-grown' paddy crop in water) and māhigiri (fishing rights) flowed from the possession of superior right over the village. A sale-deed of c. 1580, which we have referred to earlier also, specifically speaks of the sale of the right to collect the self-grown paddy crop in water, alongwith satārhi rights of village Manchanchapur.[2] Similarly, another sale-deed (c.1769) records the sale of 'milkiyat-wa-zamindāri known as satārhi,'of the village Tamorkha alongwith the fiscal claims over Shāli-ābi (water-paddy) and āhigiri (fishing).[3] If members of the menial caste trespassed on this perquisite of the superior-right holders, they were obliged to pay some fine in addition to the mālikana perquisites. A ba'inama executed by a group

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1. In every deed selling the zamindāri rights in Awadh for these three centuries always contained a recitation regarding the sale of wells, pond, tanks and likewise other things. Indeed in some documents wells, ponds, and tanks are styled as the 'necessary paraphernilia of the village (لوازمہ دیہہ ہست) NAI - 2125 (c.1667).

2. RAA-1165 (c. 1580) In this deed the sale of the 'Wells streams and the paddy crop grown in water' has been listed alongwith a number of other rights.

of kahārs (c. 1638) of pargana Sandila contains a pledge to pay Rs. 18/- in cash and 35 mounds of Shāli-e-ābi on account of their unauthorised poaching in the Jatar Tank in village Mahsona. They further undertook to pay annually Rs.7/- and 35 mounds of the said crop to the heirs of the Qazi. In case of default, the heirs were at liberty to evict the kahārs from the pond.[1] Fishermen were similarly required to pay a fixed amount by way of mālikana to the holders of the superior rights in case they made use of the ponds and tanks situated in their villages. A parwana issued to the gumāshta (agent) of the jāgīrdārs of Sandila (c. 1612) records that since the time the village of Mahsona had been made over to Qazi Abdul Razzaq and his brothers, one Sita mehtar alongwith his group of fishermen had been fishing in the ponds of the said village without paying any amount by way of haqq-e-mālikana to the Qazi. It was ordered that the trespassers be directed to use the ponds only with the permission of the Qazi and should pay him the amount of mālikana for the use of the ponds on the previous occasions as well.[2] From a hukmnāmah (c. 1846), it appears that even a legal remedy was available to the superior right holders against any encroachment upon such perquisites.[3]

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1. NAI-1454.
2. NAI-1596.
3. NAI-1398.

At the same time separate proprietary rights over water-use could also exist. Indeed an imperial farmān of Shahjahan (c. 1629) forbids the shiqdār of the village pargana Sandila from dismissing one Asi, a kahār by caste, from the office of the muqqadami (headship) of the said village. It also purports to recognise the hereditary right of the said muqqadam over the village. He was permitted to carry on cultivation of the (water paddy) in the pond-bed on the usual payment of Rs. 30/-. No enhancement in the amount of the salāna as demanded by the shiqdār was allowed.[1] In a letter of agreement from Bilgiram (c.1715) one party gaveup every claim of using the tank and its water for all time to come. The claim was recognized as the exclusive right of the other party who was to use it for irrigating his khud-kāshtá land.[2] In case the other peasants utilized this facility, they had to pay a fixed rate or haqq-e-dastūr to the zamindār. In a statement of facts presented by the zamindār (c. 1858) it is alleged that a rate of one ser (of produce) per bigha from everyone

1. NAI-1646, Here 'muqqadami' had been recognised as, hereditary property' (milk) of the complainants. It is not clear that wether the pond in question was attached to the office of the muqqadami or it was in the other hereditary possession.

2. Bilgiram-71 (c. 1715). The parties to the agreement seem to have been members of the religious class. It is quite possible that the tank in question was acquired through some aímma grant.

selling up a nova (boat like scoop) to water their fields from the tank of village Panwaria, pargana Khairabad used to had been realized by the petitioning mutawalli.[1]

In addition to land-revenue the peasants were required to pay some amount in cash as well as in kind to the superior-right holders under the name of dami and satarhi. In a letter of agreement executed by a group of karindas (cultivators) of the village korna (pargana Sandila) (c.1746) it was agreed that 10 sers (of produce) per bigha and on account of dami, 1 fulus (a copper coin) per bigha would be paid on account of satarahi. The karinda also agreed to deliver 50 mounds of grain and 7 rupees in cash annually to the claimants of these rights.[2]

Other perquisites of the zamindars extended to fruit bearing and non-fruit bearing trees. "Orchards, wells, tanks etc." were designated as "the assets of a village"

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1. Khairabad-9 (c. 1858); Iqbal Husain, 'A calender of khairabad documents: 16th-19th centuries, Islamic Culture, Vol. LIII (i) & (ii) Hyd. 1979.

2. RAA-442 (c. 1746) The total amount of the graint to be delivered was fixed at 50 mans for the whole year. In the kharif harvest it came to 25 mans; 10 mounds of rice, 10 monds of millets and mash 5 mounds. Of the 25 mounds to be delivered from rabi crop, the claim from wheat was 7 mounds; gram 8 mounds; and barley 9 mounds. As for cash Rs.7/- were to be paid in the whole year, half of the amount at cash harvest. See also Irfan Habib, Agrarian System, p.145.

(lawāzima-i deh) in pargana Unao in 1667.[1] If a fort or a garhi existed in any village, it also fell under the jurisdiction of these proprietors. We notice in a 16th century sale-deed that a fort was also sold by the zamindārs along with their satārhi rights of a village in pargana Sandila.[2]

The income from these various claims amounted to a fairly substantial sum, so that when a zamindār was bypassed by the revenue authorities, he was deemed to be entitled to some compensation. Thus mālikana was defined as, "a right of the zamindār, when the (authorities) convert his land into sīr, and give him (something) on account of his being mālik. Out of every hundred bighas or every hundred mans of grain.[4]" If the zamindārs himself happened to be the revenue payer (and that land was converted into sīr) he was allowed only nānkar instead of mālikāna.[5] The rates of the mālikāna, when made in cash, was 10% of the total revenue collected, and if land was to be allotted on the said account, it came to 'two biswas in every bigha or again 10% of the land.

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1. NAI-2125 (c. 1667).
2. RAA-1165 (c. 1580).
3. NAI-1492 (c. 1773).
4. Add-6603, f.79a, also Patna Private ff.110b-111a.
5. Add-6603, f. 61b.

A sanad (c. 1595) records the grant of 29 bighas land to a group of persons on account of mālikāna, in a village when revenue had been remitted (ma'āf) to the grantees.[1]

The zamindārs on account of their rendering service' in collecting the land revenue from the peasants and remitting the same to the state treasury, used to get an authorised share known as nānkār. Either the zamindār was allowed a deduction of 10% of the total collection or he was assigned some land revenue-free. Surely such grants would have been made in proportion to the claims of the zamindārs.[2] The concept of zamindārs as Khidmat (service) and nānkār as haqq-ul-ul-khidmat brings the entire right closer to the office of Chaudhari. The latter official too, helped the administration in the same sphere. On this account the allowance payable to the chaudharies was also known as nānkār.[3] In a parwāna (c. 1650) in pargana Bilgiram, a chaudhari is assigned one village as his nānkār on account of his khidmat. He was further called upon to serve well and be loyal.[4] Again in

1. Allahabad-294 (c. 1595).

2. Zamindār addressing a revenue official declares that he is ready for the proper official service, "if the jama of the ta'alluqa" was assessed according to the statement of the last ten years with deduction of one tenth as nānkār. "Bekas, f-52b of Irfan Habib, Agrarian System, p.174n.

3. Ibid.

4. Bilgiram-49. Since other chaudharis held their wajh-e-nankar in the pargana Bilgiram, and the present assignee

Contd......

1731, a parwana was issued to grant one village in nānkār to some Chaudhari. It states that his two nānkār villages had been resumed and included in khālisa so as to enhance the income of the state. In lieu of this resumption, a fresh grant was being made.[1] Similarly 18th century documents from pargana Bilgiram contain a number of pawānas making nānkār grants in cash.[2] In a very interesting parwāna from sarkār Khairabād (c. 1824) it is recorded that two villages were granted to some Karam Ahmad and Rauf Ahmad as wajh-e-nānkār in al-tamgha. The grant was made in perpetuity.[3] In another parwana (c. 1830) a nānkār grant of Rs.50/- was made as the grantee was a khairkhwāh (well-wisher) of the state.[4] Nawab Wajid Ali Shah through a royal farmān (c. 1848) bestowed an amount of Rs.200/- and 55 bigha of cultivated land in nānkār to a lady named Lado. Again the grant was made on hereditary basis. It is, however, not clear in lieu of what service the grant was being made. There is hardly any need

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(Continued from the previous page)

had nothing of that sort. Hence village Pewandi was assigned to him to meet out his nānkār claims.

1. Bilgiram-9. The nānkār villages of Khormi and Pewandi belonging to Sayyed Qubul Alam Chaudhauri were included in khālisa. In lieu, he was allotted the other villages the Chaudhari was required to get the villages inhabited and to meet out his needs out of its revenues.

2. Khairabad-7.

3. NAI-1563

4. NAI-1416.

to point out that in 19th century the entire concept of nānkār grants had undergone a considerable change in Awadh, often becoming a kind of simple grant.

During the first half ofthe 19th century, with the weakening of the administrative machinary of the kingdom of Awadh, the revenue-farmers and the big zamindārs increased their power tremendously. They were able to obtain a much larger share of the total land-revenue as their nānkār. W.H.Sleeman optly remarked that: "the (nānkār) could be 10%, 20% or 100% upon the rent-roll of the estate.[1]" It appears, that the difference between the claim of the mālikana and nānkār had practically disappeared, the general designation nānkār applying to both allowances; Sleeman says:-

> "The nankar is a portion of the recognised rentroll, acknowledged by the rulers to be due to the land-holders for the risk, cost and the trouble of the management and for his perquisites as hereditary proprietors of the soil, when the management is confined to another.[2]"

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1. W.H.Sleeman, op.cit., pp. 121-2.
2. Ibid.

Sleeman explained how the amount of the nānkār could be manipulated by the zamindārs and the revenue-farmers. He cites an instance from the district of Sandila (c. 1849) where the 'āmil was weak and the zamindārs very strong. They refused to pay the dues on the plea of a bad season. The man who had to pay Rs. 10,000/- in revenue could not be induced to pay Rs. 5,000/-. He enjoyed an acknowledge nānkār of Rs. 2,000/- upon a recognised rent-roll of Rs. 12,000 and to induce him to pay the 'āmil increased nānkār to Rs.3,000/-, and reduced the revenue to Rs. 9,000/-. At another place Sleeman observed that "the amount of nānkār once recognised, remains the same till a new rate is recognised by the government.[1]" That is, not the rate, but the sum remained constant, whatever the actual revenue.

During the first half of the 19th century, no sanctity seems to have been attached to the total percentage of the revenue allowed to be retained as nānkār. To quote Donald Butter (c. 1836). "In Baiswara, the largest zamindāri is Dundiakhera held by Rambaksh Singh and in past sublet by him to his relations. It is in extent, 30 miles from east to west and 20 miles from north to south and pays an annual revenue of 300,000 rupees. In ordinary years, the amount of

1. Sleeman, op.cit., p. 207.

nānkār, or allowance for management is 45,000 rupees...... but in favourable years, he obtains an additional profit, amounting to 100,000 or 150,000 rupees.[1]"

Sleeman's diary, too, contains a number of specific instances about the enomous income obtained by the zamindārs on this account. The returns of pargana Nawabjunge, Munkapur and Bahnu Paer gave the following figures:[2]-

Pargana	A. Rent-roll	B. Nānkār	C. [illegible]t-demand
1. Nawab,Gunj, Wazir Gang, Mahadeva	1,08,000	32,000	76,000
2. Munkapur	40,000	12,000	28,000
3. Bahana Paer	12,000	4,000	8,000

Again while giving a description of the estate of Seo Buksh Singh of Laharpur district Khairābād, Sleeman, says, "Its rent is now estimated ..... at Rs. 54,640 out of which is deducted a nānkār or 17,587 leaving a government demand of only Rs. 37,053.[3]" The revenue-contractors and t'ālluqādārs were also entitled to nānkār. It is not clear that in such areas what amount was allowed to the hereditary zamindāri.

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1. Butter, op.cit., pp. 53-4.

2. Sleeman, op.cit., p. 123. These parganas were transferred to the East India Company as per terms of the treaty of 1801, but were retransferred to the Awadh Kingdom in 1816.

3. Sleeman, op.cit., p. 253.

Rent-free villages continued to be granted in <u>nānkār</u> claims. One Muhammad Husain Khan of Bharwara district Khayrabad, "held twelve villages, rent-free as <u>nānkār</u> and pays revenue for all the rest that compose his share of the great estate. The heads of families, who hold the other shares enjoy, in the same manner, one or more villages, rent free, as <u>nānkār</u>.[1]" On such <u>nānkār</u> villages the <u>zamindār</u> had apparently no obligation to pay anything to the government.

Apart from the <u>nānkār</u>, another major source of the <u>zamindārs</u> during the 19th century came to be the <u>seer</u> lands. These lands were those which the landholders and their families tilled themselves. Such lands were not entered at all in the rent-roll, and were shared among the heirs as hereditary possession.[2]

It should not be assumed that the administration was just a silent spectature to the destruction of its own income. Attempt were made to put restrictions on the claims of the intermediaries. An order was issued to the revenue officials, directing them not to acknowledge any increase in the amount or percentage of <u>nānkār</u>, acquired after 1814 A.D. the year of Nawab Sa'ādat Ali Khan's deqth. But the evil was so deep

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1. Sleeman, <u>op.cit</u>., p. 242.

2. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 199.

rooted that the measure proved abortive:

"The increase to the nānkār and the alienation in rent free tenure of lands liable to assessment in 1814, by local authorities and influential persons at court are supposed to amount, in all Oude, to forty lakhs of rupees a year. None of them have been formally recognised by the court, but a great part of them has been facitly acquired in by the minister and diwan for the time being. They can not enforce the order for reverting to the nankar of 1814; and if attempt to do so, the whole country will be in disorder. Indeed, the minister knows, his own weakness too well, to think seriously of ever making such an attempt.[1]"

The things were manipulated by the big land owners in collusion with the mustājirs at great loss to the public treasury. Describing the conditions in the Biaswara district, Sleeman tells us that Dharoopoor yielded Rs. 1,74,000 in annual amount of revenue when the estate was put under the direct management of Raja Durshan Singh as revenue-contractor. A deduction of Rs. 20,000 was allowed as nānkār. But in 1849, the government could not persuade Raja Himmat

1. Sleeman, op.cit., p. 199.

Singh, the hereditary owner of the same estate to pay Rs. 1,30,000 as per rent roll", while the deduction by way of <u>nānkār</u> was allowed at Rs. 40,000. When the land owner was threatened with royal vengeance. He looks, we are told, at their military force and smiles.[1]" This was not a solitary case but these was a general realization on the part of every <u>ta'alluqadārs</u> of consequence about their armed strength and of relative weakness of the government. The officials, too, were afraid and hence they behaved very freebly in dealing with such potentates. At the same time their curelty and appression renew no bounds when they cameto deal with a weak or small land-holder.[2]

Apart from the major items of the perquisites and the privileges enjoyed by the <u>zamindārs</u>, we find a number of fiscal dues and obligations claimed by them by virtue of their being superior right holders. The nature, demonination and the amount of these claims varied from area to area. A set of documents from <u>sarkār khairābad</u> show that with in a span of hundred year or so even small <u>milk</u> holders had enlarged their fiscal claims. In 1658, one Shaikh Daim was allotted five <u>bighas</u> of land in village Panwaria as <u>milk</u> for

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1. Sleeman, <u>op.cit</u>., p. 143.

2. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 143.

establishing a mosque and Khanqah and for the maintenance of the tombs.[1] Within two hundred years the right had been grossly enlarged. In 1858 his descendant presented a statement of facts with the attestation of the thirty persons of every class of village Panwaria. It was now alleged that he and his predecessors held the zamindāri rights over village Panwaria and hence anyone laying the foundation of his house, was under an obligation to pay one tankā and offer some sweetmeats by way of bhent; to pay dastūr-e-haqq-i-zamindāri on cultivable land and a rate of one ser (of produce) per bigha from everyone setting up a nōva (boat like sccep) to water their field from the tank of the village.[2]

Salt and Saltapetre were extensively made in almost every district of Awadh. These were extracted from nitrous soils by a special caste of people known as nuniyas or luniyas.[3] The nitrous soil was found in every locality; and Butter tells usthat, "when Luniyas or the salt-manufacturers

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1. Khairabad-3.

2. Khairabad-9, Iqbal Husain, op.cit.

3. The Chief occupation of the nuniyas or luniyas, was making of the salt and saltpetre. There population in every district of Awadh was quite considerable. W.Groocks, The Tribes and Castes of North Western India, Vol.III, pp. 386-95.

pitch upon a spot where they think salt water likely to be found, they obtained the zamindār's permission to sink a well, by engaging to pay him annually 50 rupees for the water.[1]"

Another source of income of the zamindārs was the collections made by them in markets and fairs held within the limits of their zamināris. These places were looked after by the chaudharies, who annually paid a fixed amount to the zamindārs. These Chaudharies in turn enjoyed some concessions from the zamindārs. In 1666 Diler Khan, jagirdār of pargana Pali, issued a sanad to one Maiku, Chaudhari of the market, granting him fifty bighas of barren land as in'ām. The grantee was asked to treat the peasants (ri'aya) gently as to attract them to these settlements.[2] Similarly in 1688 the office of the Chaudhari of Dilergunj (bāzār) and its ferries was given over to a new incumbent. The newly appointed person was asked to look at the general welfare of the population, the bankers, the big traders and kāsibs in such a way to enable the population of the place should increase.[3] Butter (c. 1836) says of the hāt (market) of Karahya bāzār, that it was the greatest hāt of the chakla salon, and was

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1. Butter, op.cit., p. 73.
2. Nama-e-Muzsaffari, Vol.I, p. 191.
3. Ibid., p. 268.

attended by about one lakh people. This hāt was managed by a Chaudhari who resides on the spot and pays Rs. 8000 a year to the zamindār.[1]"

The zamindāri right was a freely saleable article of property. A number of surviving sale-deeds and mortgage deeds from the various pargana of the province of Awadh are strong evidence of this. A full scale market in zamindāri rights (not property perhaps a land market) had developed here at least from the 16th century if not earlier.

The zamindāri rights were usually represented in terms of biswas or twentieth shares in a village. The share in the zamindāri of a village is thus stated in the number of biswas, the biswa here having nothing to do with the land-measure of that name.

The earliest known sale-deeds of these superior rights from pargana Bilgiram (c. 1542) and pargana Sandila (c.1585) show transfers of rights from one class of persons to another. A group of land owner hitherto unknown in an area, could establish their sway over it by buying up zamindāri. In 1582 a group of Janwar Rajput land owners sold their rights on a village in pargana Bilgiram for a consideration of 300 silver tanka-i-'adli to a Qazi or Muslim judge.[2]

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1. Butter, op.cit., p. 92.

2. Sharaif-e-Usmani, p. 80.

Similarly in 1585 Brahman zamindārs of pargana Sandilah had sold their proprietory rights over the ten villages for 1560 sikka-e-muradi.[1] It appears that by 1595, the Janwar Rajput and the Brahman proprietors were reduced to the status of the under proprietors in these parganas respectively, for Abul Fazl does not record them as the dominant zamindār caste.[2]

A number of sale-deeds of 18th century from sarkār Khairābad give the impression that even jāgīrdārs in their al-tamghā or watan-assignments were tempted to acquire zamindāri rights. One Rae Siroman Das son of Alam Chand held on in'ām-al-tamghā jāgīr in pargana Sandi. It consisted of 30,000 dams, being the revenue of 500 bighas (60 dams per bigha). The grant was made to him with the specific purpose of settling people and orchards.[3] The grantee was exampted from all revenue obligations and cesses like begār, khāna-shumāri and sardarakhti wa zer-darakhti.[4] In the period subsequent to this grant, we find that he had purchased zamindāri rights in a number of villages from Rajput land owners. Thus he came to enjoy are important position in the landed aristocracy of the pargana. The details of his acquisitions are given in the following table:

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1. Allahabad-317.
2. Ain-e-Akbari, Vol. II, p.
3.
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Year of transaction	Area invalid	Description of the sellers/ castes	Price paid	Reference
1. 1124/ 1715	qasba Saroman nagar pargana sirsa, khairābād.	Jeet son of Sultan zamindār of the said qasba.	Rs.500/-being Rs.25/- per biswa for 20 biswa.	RAA-2
2. 1141F/ 1737	Village Baqar Nagar, tappa Honsipur, sarkār Khairabād.	Santokh son of Pratap Sahi etc. zamindārs.	Rs.271/4 annas for 5 biswa & 10 biswansi	ALL-224
3. 114F/ 1740	Village Baqar Nagar and Sarjospur tappa, Honsi-pur, sarkār Khairābād.	Himmat Singh S/o Har Singh and Maha Singh Sahi zamindār	Rs.546/- for 7 biswas and 15 biswansi	ALL-225
4. 1200/ 1785 (date of the seal)	Village Sikan-darpur, pargana Sirrah, tappa Rasulabad.	Zamindārs of the Rajputs Chamar Kaur tribe.	Rs. 202/- 8 annas for 6 3/4 biswa	RAA-382
5. -do-	-do-	-do-	Rs.375/-for 13 biswa in various villages.	RAA-12

Similarly we find two sale-deeds dealing with the transactions between the Gaur Rajput zamindārs of pargana sirrah and Muhammad Sardar Khan, grandson of a well known noble of Aurangzeb, Diler Khan. We know from the other sources that Sardar Khan held a large inam-al-tamgha grant of 7 lac dams in the adjecent pargana Pali (afterwards Shahabad) as

hereditary jāgir.[1] This enabled him to purchase a large number of zamindāri villages from their owners. The details of these transactions are given in the following table[2]:-

Year of the transaction	Area involved	Description of the sellers/ castes	Amount of consideration	Reference
1. 1141/ 1728	Rampur Ghālib etc. pargana Sirrah, sarkar Khairabad.	Zamindārs of the Rajput Gaur Caste.	Rs.1124/ 12 annas	ALL-228
2. 1141/ 1728	-do-	-do-	Rs.560/-	ALL-229

Two sale-deeds from pargana Lucknow record the sale of considerable portions of the superior rights by the hereditary Rajput land owners of Janwar clan to one Sayyid Muhammad Yasin. One transaction involved half (10 out of the 20 portions) of the village Bharasa for a consideration of Rs.581/- in 1694,[3] while the other sale-deed relates to $1\frac{1}{2}$ portion of the same village purchased for Rs. 46/- in 1702.[4] This

1. Nāma-e-Muzzaffari, Vol.I, pp. 316-17.

2. Allahabad-228 and 229. These sale deeds were executed on the same date in 1728 A.D. The earlier one was executed for the sale of 19 portions in the 4 villages for a consideration of Rs. 1124/- by the Gaur Rajput owners, while another deed involved the sale of 16 portions in the same villages by the owners of same caste for a consideration of Rs. 560/-.

3. NAI-141.

4. NAI-143.

suggests the ability of the outsiders to obtain a favourable price once he had established himself in the village for at the latter rate the original acquisition should have cost only Rs. 307. We have seen how Saiyyed Muhammad Arif in pargana Hisampur sarkār Bahraich, purchased from Rajput zamindārs a number of the shares in the Pasanjat group of the villages,[1] all the portions of the village Debidaspur and 1/4 shares of the village Inchapur between the years 1672 to 1688.[2] We know from other papers that originally Arif, was a madad-i-ma'āsh holder,[3] and subsequently he contracted to collect and to pay the revenues of jāgīrs in pargana Hisampur.[4]

Such examples of outsiders entering the zamindar class could be multiplied. But the point at issue isthat, to an extent, the saleability of the superior rights in land had been instrumental in altering the general pattern of the land holding classes. The new masters of soil were often former salaried beurocrates, revenue contractors and the holders of grants. Holders of tax grants (a'imma or ma'āfi)

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1. See the Chapter on The Revenue Grants, Section II.

2. See the sale-deeds of Regional Records Office Allahabad especially numbers, 1196,1221,1222,1224,1216,1215 and 1205.

3. RRA-849, 853, 860, 864, 866, 879, 861 and 939.

4. RRA-867.

inevitably tended to combine these, if they could, with superior or zamindāri rights. A sale deed from Bilgiram (1723) clubs the muqqadami and mālikāna rights with the madad-e-ma'āsh rights, all of which had been previously mortgaged. A description of these rights shows that these included the headmen's and zamindāri perquisites such as mehat, khaildāri, adhatra, pachotra, mustājiri, alongwith mahsūl-e a'imma or revenue from the land-grant.[1] Another interesting petition from pargana Sandila shows one Ghulām Haider and others representing before the qāzi of the pargana that the milkiyat-i-zamindāri known as satārhi of the village kondwa was purchased by their predecessors and that their anscestors also held madad-e-ma'ash rights over the said village. It was alleged that one Shah Muhammad Akbar, a co-sharer of these rights had now mortgaged his share of those rights in view of his poverty, with some Rajput zamindārs for a consideration of $1\frac{1}{2}$ mound of cereals. Although the price of the grain had been paid to these zamindārs, they had not returned the mortgage papers of the said village, so far, to the petitioners.[2]

Most frequently the grantees (a'immadārs) sought to obtain mālikāna and muqqadami rights over their a'imma lands.

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1. Bilgiram-60.

2. Allahabad-362.

An iqrārnāmāh, executed in 1697 stipulates that an a'imma village having been mortgaged for Rs. 476/- in sarkār Lucknow, it was agreed that Malik Abdul Karim, the a'immadār, be paid Rs. 48/- and 24 bighās 7 biswa of land be reserved for him in view of his mālikāna and muqqadami rights.[1] Apparently he had only mortgaged his grant, and not his superior rights. Similarly, the Khairabad documents show that in village Panwariya Shaikh Daim held a land grant of 5 bigha for maintaining a khanqah, mosque etc., but after words his descendants Shaikh Aminuddin, claimed that all the zamindāri rights in the said village had been acquired by his predecessors since long and that he too enjoyed all such perquisites.[2]

Elsewhere the fortunes of the family of the mystics established at Salon had been discussed at some length. They had a humble beginning as holders of the madad-i-ma'āsh rights over 200 bighas of uncultivated land in 1679, but subsequently their possessions were greatly expanded so that by 1761 they held 44 villages 21 chaks and a substantial number of the bighas of cultivated land. These included the zamindāri. "Lambardari" (sic) as well the madad-i-ma'āsh rights. The proprietory rights of the establishment were so firmly established that Butter in 1836 was led to conclude that, "he (the head of the family) also is called a faqir, though the malik (proprietor) of Salon.[3]"

1. NAI-144.
2. Khairabad-3 and 9.
3. For a detailed discussion of the rise of this family of the mystics see the chapter on Revenue Grants Section II.

(B) Changes in Composition of the Zamindar class:

Superior rights in land have been linked in Awadh, as elsewhere, with the domination of a particular clan, or caste, over an area. As we have seen these rights could originate quite independently of any royal action. The association of caste with more or less well defined tracts of country was so conspicuous in Awadh that C.A.Elliott was led to conclude that pargana boundaries were fixed on the basis of the "possession of an undivided clan.[1]" However in so far as these superior or zamindāri rights were fully alienable, the territorial hegemony of a clan or caste was open to the dissolving effects of money. It could also be disturbed by the deliberate policy of Government to dislodge a clan from an area and install some other group in its place.

A study of the position of various land-holding clans, their share in the agricultural surplus and the changes which came in their fortunes during the period 1595-1900 can be extremely fascinating. One such study has been attempted by Bernord S.Cohn for the Benaras region. After comparing the

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1. C.A.Elliott, Chronicles of Onao, Allahabad,1862, p.149. He argues that since the boundaries of the mahals were not fixed in accordance with the physical or geographical features of the country, the only reason, "for their irregular tracing seems to be proprietory rights."

data for circa 1595 with those for circa 1900 he concluded that, "the rise of one group or class did not necessarily mean the concomitant fall of another.[1]" A similar study has been attempted by K.K.Trivedi for Western Uttar Pradesh. His conclusions are quite different from Cohn's. He has shown that changes in land holding classes were quite substantial and that a large number of castes recorded in the Āin had been largely eliminated from various localities, being supplanted by others. In most cases the money-lending castes which replaced them are not even recorded as zamindārs in the Ā'in; but they appear with sizeable holdings by 1900.[2]

The study of the zamindār clans of Awadh must obviously begin with the rich information in the Ā'in-i Akbari. Abul Fazl has given us a detailed census of the dominant caste in each pargana along with the naqdi (jama') figures assessed upon it. Very often more than one caste are recorded for a pargana. We have therefore divided the amount of naqdi

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1. Bernard S.Cohn. "Structural Changes in Rural Society" Land Control and Social Structure in Indian History, ed. RE Frykinberg, London, 1969.

2. K.K.Trivedi, "Changes in caste composition of the zamindāri clans in Western Uttar Pradesh, C. 1595-1900", Indian Historical Review, Vol.II No.1 Delhi 1975, pp.47-67.

accordingly in order to determine the share payable by one caste from the pargana in question.

A cursory glance at Table I (prepared with the help of the data provided by A'in)[1] will show that more than 75% of the total jama' of the parganas recorded in the A'in was from lands under the various Rajput clans Bais, 18.50%; Bachhils 5.22%; Ghelots 5.11%; Bachgotis 4.73%; Bisins 4.13%; others 3.42%; undifferentiated, 25.64%. The Brahmans and Muslims trailed for behind accounting for only 6.42% and 10.86% shares in the total jama' of the suba. The reminder was controlled by other minor clans and some which are unidentifiable.

The Bais Rajputs are recorded as zamindārs of 27 parganas in Awadh by Abul Fazl. In the sarkar of Awadh, they are co-sharers in 3 parganas holding 6% of the total naqdi of the sarkar and one pargana each in sarkar Bahraich, Khairabad and Gorakhpur, while in sarkar Lucknow they possssed 15 parganas singly and 6 parganas as co-sharers. In all they controlled 18.22% of the total naqdi of the suba. These mahals formed a contiguous block. The tract acquired the name of Baiswara in the 17th century; the first occurance of the name appears to be in Shahjahan's time, when the

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1. Abul Fazl Allami, Āin-i Akbari, Persian Text edited by W.H. Blochmann (Bib. Ind. Series) Vol. I, pp. 71-84.

recalcitrance of the Bais zamindārs caused the creation of a special faujdari jurisdiction of Baiswara,[1] "consisting of many mahals, that are the native places of the seditious zamindārs of the caste of Bais.[2]" They supported the rebellion of Bahadur the Bachgoti chief in Aurangzeb's first R.Y.[3] and apparently lent aid to the Chauhans of pargana Shahpur in or about 1700 AD. The disturbances were suppressed with some difficulty and Ra'd Andaz Khan, the faujdar of Baiswara reported his successes with much satisfaction.[4] C.A.Elliott provides us with detailed information on the settlements of the Bais Rajputs in the Baiswara region from their traditional settlement till about 1860.[5] We are told that there were 22 parganas in all, under the dominance of this clan:-----

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1. Abdul Hameed Lahori, Badshah Namah, Bib.Indica (i) pp.243, 278. The sarkar of Lucknow and district of Bainswara were under one faujdari; subsequently Bainswara became a separate faujdari; Also see Zahiruddin Malik, "Problems of faujdari jurisdictions in Bainswara" PIHC 1973 (Chandigarh Session). For a note on Bais zamindārs see my paper in the cyclostyled papers of the members of the Department of History, AMU presented at 42nd session of Indian History Congress Bodh-Gaya, 1981.

2. Insha-i Roshan Kalam, MS Azad Library, AMU Aligarh, f.7a.

3. Muhammad Kazim, Alamgir Namah, Bib.Ind.,Calcutta, 1873, Vol.I, p.450.

4. Insha-i Roshan Kalam, f. 3a.

5. C.A.Elliott, op.cit., pp. 67-68.

District (according to present distribution)	Pargana
1. Rae Bareili	1. Dundiakhera
	2. Unchgaon
	3. Kombhi
	4. Bar
	5. Kehengur
	6. Ghatampur
	7. Serhapur
	8. Mukrid
	9. Dalmau
	10. Bihar
	11. Pathan
	12. Punhan
	13. Rae Bareili
	14. Hurha
2. Onnao	15. Satanpur
	16. Purwa
	17. Maurawan
	18. Serwan
	19. Asoha
	20. Gorinda
	21. Pursundan
3. Lucknow	22. Bijnor

"The Bainswara Nizamat included very little more than the parganas in the above list.[1]"

The Bais *zamindārs* seem to have extended their possessions in *parganas* Dalmau and Bijnor, since Abul Fazl has

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1. C.A. Elliott, *op.cit.*, pp. 67-68.

recorded the former under 'Turkmans', and the latter under the Chauhan Rajputs.[1] On the other hand, after the suppression of the Mutiny some Bais proprietor's lost their possessions. The most notable loser was Raja Beni Madho Singh of Shankarpur whose large estate was confiscated for his invovement in the Mutiny. The final picture with regard to the land holdings of Bias clan suggests that by an large all the mahals recorded in the Āin were kept intact by them but only a few new additions were made to the land holdings of this clan by C. 1900. It appears then that the possessions of Bais Rajputs at least did not, on the balance, suffer any contraction over the three hundred years spanning 1600 and 1800.

The Bachgoti Rajputs are recorded as the exclusive zamindārs of 6 parganas and jointly of one in sarkar Awadh where they thus seem to have accounted for 18.85% of the total jama'. In sarkar Lucknow they held only a share in a pargana and 2.6% of the total jama'. Of the total jama' of the suba Awadh their parganas were assigned 4.87%. All the parganas except one, formed a contiguous block of territory

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1. Abul Fazl, op.cit., pp. 71-84. However Insha-i Roshan Kalam records the mahal of Bihnor under the Bais zamindārs (f.7). They have been called as zamindaran-i zor-talab. While Nevill informs us the pargana of Dalmau was possessed by Bais Rajputs. See H.R. Nevill, District Gazetteers of the United Provinces of Agra & Oudh, (hereafter as DG), Vol. 39, pp. 168-69.

in the south-eastern portion of Awadh in 1595. The Bachgoti zamindārs raised considerable disturbance in 1070 AH/1660 AD. Their leader Bahadur recruited a large number of followers from amongst the local, 'ganwars', the 'turbulent Bais' and other 'bad characters of the area. The banner of revolt was raised in the Bainswara division. He devastated a considerable area. Such were the dimensions of the revolt then an imperial force was deputed under the command of Bahadur Khan.[1] The rebellion was suppressed and peace restored in the area.[2] Subsequently we hear little of this clan. But they largely retained their zamindāris, and held on to almost all the parganas against which they are entered in the Āin. The famous Khanazad house of Hasanpur (Muslim Bachgotis) and their latter branches of Maniarpur and Gangeo had their large ta'alluqādari possessions in the present district of Sultanpur and Fyzabad.[3] We know that 5 of the Bachgoti parganas of the Āin lay in Sultanpur district, while one each lay in the districts Fyzabad and Barabanki, the pargana Baktha is yet to be identified.[4] Other notable possessions of the Bachgotis lay in the ta'alluqa of Kurwar, Samrautha and Khajurahat, the Rajkumars had the estates of Dera, Pirpur, Meopur Dharua and

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1. Lahori, op.cit., Vol. I (i), pp. 243 & 278.

2. Muhammad Kazim, Alamgir Namah, Vol. I, p.450.

3. DG, Vol. 46, pp. 88-93.

4. Irfan Habib, An Atlas of the Mughal Empire, Oxford Press, 1982, Sheet No. 8A, p.29 (notes).

Nanemau.[1] We find that in addition to their old possessions some new 'estates' were also acquired by them. The ta'alluqa of Khajurahat was established during the time of Shujauddaulah and the house of Bhiti came into existence during the first half of the 19th century. Most of the villages of these ta'alluqa lay in the Āin's pargana of Pachhimrath and Haveli Awadh, where the Bachgotis are not recorded as zamindārs.

The Chauhan Rajputs held one pargana each in the sarkars of Khairabad, Awadh and Lucknow. In two parganas of Awadh they are recorded as the co-sharers and so they controlled areas yielding 4.33% of the total jama' of the suba. These zamindārs had grown strong enough, subsequently, to cause trouble and harassment to the imperial authority at the close of the Aurangzeb's reign. It was reported by the deputy faujdar of the Bainswara division, Sher Andaz Khan, that these 'troublesome' people had collected a force of their kinsmen consisting of about 8 or 9,000 persons and gone into rebellion. The usual allegation , namely, refusal to pay the land revenue was also levelled against them. As a result of the successful operation carried out by the imperial forces against the rebels 12 strong fortress and about 1500 captives captured by the army. Also we come across the recommendation of the faujdar to confer the zamindāri rights of the

1. For a detailed description of the rise of these ta'alluqas see DG, Vols. 39,43 & 46.

area over one Syed Muzaffar who helped imperial forces with all possible means.[1]

Comparing the relative position of the Chauhan possessions between 1595 and 1900, it appears that some of their old possessions had been lost to their powerful neighbours while they had themselves established their sway in areas where they are not recorded in the Āīn. The pargana of Daryabad and Sara had almost completely passed out of their hands. Pargana Inhauna was kept intact by Chauhan Khanazads (Muslims). In pargana Rudauli and Bijnor they are only recorded as the inhabitants, but not as the proprietors of the land; they might have been under proprietors for which unfortunately we possess no information.[2] Their new acquisition lay in the District of Kheri. The large ta'alluqas of Oel, Mahewa and Kaimahra consisted of 326 villages and 28 pattis, assessed at Rs. 1,89,744. Originally it was a Janwar possession; the Chauhans got it as a 'dowery gifts' since their predecessor had no one to succeed them. The Jangre Rajputs, a branch of the Chauhans also possessed the large estate of Bhur, Isanagar and Ramnagar in Kheri District. Their total possessions consisted of 161 villages and 14 pattis and it was assessed that

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1. For a detailed description of the nature and the dimension of this revolt see Insha-i Roshan Kalam, f. 3.

2. DG, Vol. 48, 37.

Rs. 1,54,745.[1] It appears that on balance the Chauhans did not suffer, though there were some territorial changes.

The zamindāri possessions of Raikwars and Janwars Rajputs display striking similarity with that of Chauhans in 1595, their most numerous possessions lay in sarkar Bahraich, where they held 6 parganas and paid 24.67% of the total assessed jama'. In sarkar Awadh, the Raikwar held 3 parganas as co-sharers with 19.34% in the total jama'. One pargana belonging to the Janwars, lay in sarkar Khairabad. In the jama' of the suba their share amounted to 7.10%. A comparison with the relative size of their land-holdings in 1900 suggest that the Raikwars had lost a good deal of their possessions while some of the Janwar houses had acquired very large estates in those areas where they are mentioned as zamindār caste by Abul Fazl.[2]

The Raikwars lost hold of the parganas Gumarich and Daryabad; the parganas of Siluk was kept in tact by them. In pargana Fakharpur and Hisampur they retained at least some landed possession. The Janwars also lost some of their old possessions. First of all, the entire pargana of Rajhat and large tracts in pargana Sujauli and Sultanpur were transferred to Nepal in 1860. From the pargana Sadarpur they were expelled

1. DG, Vol. 42, pp. 85-7.

2. DG, Vol. 44, pp. 81-5; Vol. 45, pp. 81-3.

during the Nawabi period. Pargana Dangoi was included in the ta'aluqas of Ayodhya and Nanpara. As against these losses, the new estates acquired by them are of some interest. The estates of Balrampur and Payagpur were now owned by Janwars while Mallanpur and Ramnagar constituted the possessions of the Raikwars. By taking into account their ta'alluqadari possessions and revenue obligations, some idea can be formed of their position about 1900. In 1900, the Janwar possessions in Gonda and Bahraich districts consisted of 1189 villages and pattis 52, assessed at Rs. 8,47,388, while the Raikwar possessions in these districts consisted of 413 villages and 126 pattis, assessed at Rs. 3,37,089.[1]

The Bisin Rajputs were the most dominant clan in the Gorakhpur sarkar. They were zamindārs in 9 parganas forming a contiguous block of the territory in the south-western portion of the sarkar, and these parganas accounted for 45.66% of the total jama'. In sarkar Khairabad they were co-sherers in two parganas while one pargana each of their zamindāri lay in sarkar of Bahraich and Lucknow. In the total jama' of the suba their share amounted to about 4.13%. Comparing these data with 1900, it appears that there had been quite drastic changes in the fortunes of this clan. With the close of the tenure of one Qazi Khalilur Rehman

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1. DG, Vols. 44, 45.

(1680-1707)[1], there was a spontaneous rise in the power of the local chieftains. There were constant conflicts among local zamindārs. During the 18th century the Banjaras acquired considerable power in the north-eastern regions in the sarkar of Gorakhpur. In course of time, they became a scourge to almost the entire area. No individual chieftain was able to withstand their onslought. These conditions came to an end with the cession of this territory to the domains ofthe English East India Company in 1801.

It seems that during the 18th century owing to these conditions the position of Bisin land-holding in this sarkar underwent complete change. Not only this, in the other four parganas of sarkar Bahraich, Khairabad and Lucknow, they are not even mentioned as the superior right holders of land. In the Gorakhpur sarkar, there were only a few Bisin estates with considerable land holdings. The prime family was of the Raja of Majhauli. In 1900, it held 152 villages, assessed at Rs. 67,756. Their possessions were quite large, but in order to meet the threat posed by Anjara depredators, they abandoned a large portion of his estate to newly established estates of Tamkuhi and Padrauna. This created a powerful buffer zone between Majhauli and eastern portions of the

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1. This information is from the Gorakhpur Gazetteer, pp. 180-2. There is no contemporary documentary confirmation of this. Qazi Khalilur Rahman was probably the amil or revenue-collector.

sarkar, notorius for Banjara depradations.

The estates of Sarnet Rajputs may also be dealt with here. The great Sarnet house of Bansi Raj was established as a result of a dowry gift received from the Bisins of Majhauli.[1] In 1900 A.D., the Bansi Raj was extensive enough to merit an assessment of Rs. 1,21,685.

A precise comparison of the individual *parganas* held by Bisins in 1595, with their possessions in 1900 can not be attempted, but they seem on the whole to have declined. Muslim Pindari chiefs and Europeans also received estates during the British period, which reduced their relative position.

The *Āin* places most of the possessions of the Surajbansi and Sombansi Rajputs in *sarkar* Gorakhpur. Their share in the total *jama'* of the *sarkar* amounted to about 22.03%. The Sombansis held one *pargana* each in *sarkars* of Awadh and Khairabad. These two clans jointly controlled barely 3.49% of the total *jama'* of the *suba*. For the same reasons as far the Bisin, their position declined in *sarkar* Gorakhpur. However in some adjacent areas, where they are not recorded as *zamindārs* in the *Āin*, they come to possess large *ta'allūqadari* estates. In 1900 A.D. the Sombansi estates contained 80 villages and 8 *pattis* assessed at Rs. 41,766, while the

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1. *DG*, Vol. XXXI & XXXII.

estates of Surajbansis consisted of 206 villages, 35 *pattis*, and accounted for Rs. 1,84,282. In most of their *parganas* in Gorakhpur *sarkar* Europeans received large grants in the British period. However in these areas as well as in many other places the Kalhans Rajputs are mentioned quite frequently with the Kalhans Rajputs. The Surajbansi as well as Sombansis had matrimonial ties.[1] In *pargana* Sandi *sarkar* Khairabad, the Sombansis held 55 villages out of 140 in 1900.[2]

In the *Ā'in*'s tables, the Ghelot Rajputs held jointly with Bachhili Rajputs the *parganas* of Sandila and Pachhimrath,

about the fortunes of either of the two clans in the localities where they were holding in 1595.

The Bandalghoti Rajputs are recorded in the Āin as co-sharers in pargana Garh Amethi (sarkar Lucknow) and accounted for barely 1.11% of the total jama' of the suba. They have however succeeded in maintaining their position in this area. The Bandalgoti ta'alluqa of Amethi and Shahgarh in the present district of Sultanpur have seen quite fluctuating fortunes, still in 1900, Bandalghoti possessions were consisted of 334 villages and 5 pattis, and the total assessment on them amounted to Rs. 2,38,590.[1]

The other Rajput clans of Gaurs and Tomars are shown in the Āin as jointly holding two separate pargana in sarkar Khairabad and Bahraich respectively. Together they accounted for 2.33% of the jama' of suba. They are not prominent now.

Apart from the above major zamindār clans, there are many other castes recorded in the Āin with small shares in the total revenue of the suba. Such are the Chandels (1.5%), Amins or Ahmins (1.97%), Ahirs (1.77%), Kumbi (0.49%), Jats (0.08%) and the Kuhnas (0.23%). The presence of Jats in the province of Awadh seems quite curious. In the 19th century there were only some scattered Jats settlement in the districts of Gonda, Bahraich and Kheri, but by and large they

1. DG, Vol. 46, pp. 95-7.

were tenants or sub-proprietors.[1] Similar was the status of the Ahirs and the Kumbis.

'Unspecified' Rajputs clans held the largest zamindāri possessions in Awadh. Abul Fazl record them in almost every sarkar. In sarkar Awadh they were only next to the Bais Rajputs with a share of 23.43% in the total jama', in sarkar Gorakhpur they followed the Bisin and had 16.87% of the total jama' as their share. In sarkar of Bahraich and Khairabad they formed the most dominant group of zamindārs with 47.07% and 43.05% of the total assessment. In sarkar of Lucknow the position was different. Here they trailed behind the large zamindāris of the Bais Rajputs and the Muslims of various clans. In the total jama' of the suba their share amounted to a quarter (25.64%).

A study of the zamindāri possessions in the modern sub-divisions of Awadh belonging to Rajputs other than the clans specifically recorded in the Ain presents some difficulties. In the District Gazetteers the ta'alluqa possessions are often recorded under ownership of a clan which does not appear in the Āin'. It is quite possible that in the reign of Akbar their sub-divisions might not have acquired such importance as to merit separate mention. But even if some individual Rajput clans escaped Abul Fazl's notice, the large

1. DG, Vol. 48, p. 159.

zamindāri it assigns to unspecified Rajputs when combined with the zamindari possessions or named Rajput clans give us a very impressive size of the aggregate Rajputs possessions in Awadh. This position is largely confirmed by the District Gazetteers. Hence there is no reason to believe that Rajput zamindari possessions as a whole declined in the province, except perhaps for marginal decline affacted by the post-Mutiny confiscations. Lalji in his Mirat-ul Auza (1850) tells us that, "among all the castes of the Hindu inhabitants (of the kingdom of Awadh) the Rajputs are most numerous and a large number of zamindāris and ta'alluqadaris are possessed by them (the Rajputs). Next to them were the Muslim owners --- this fact", says Lalji, "had made them so that they had grown quite contemptous towards them (priestly class) of Brahmans.[1]"

The Brahmans are recorded as co-sharers in two parganas of sarkar Awadh and they controlled 3.80% of the total jama' of that sarkar. In sarkar Khairabad their presence is recorded in four parganas, but they controlled as much as 17.73% of the total jama' of that sarkar. In sarkar Lucknow they are entered in 8 parganas and held 4.73% in jama'. Of the total revenue of the suba, the Brahmans as a whole paid 6.42%. Comparing this date with those of circa 1900, it appears that they made considerable inroads in other areas. While the mahals recorded in the Āin' continued to be held by them in

1. Lalji, op.cit., ff. 74b-76a.

tact, they seem to have established their hold over an extensive area in sarkar Gorakhpur, where the Ain does not enter them at all. Ghulam Hazrat (c. 1810) informs us that "most of the villages (in sarkar Gorakhpur) were in the zamindāri possessions of the Rajputs and Brahmans, while the Muslims and others (castes) had only a quarter share (in zamindāri).[1]" Most of these changes, it appears, were affected during the period of 17th century, for, "since the introduction of British rule (1810 A.D.) there had been no great change in the relative position of the different castes in this respect (proprietory tenures), with the exception of the alterations affected by the confiscations of estates for rebellion during the Mutiny.[2]" In the modern districts of Gorakhpur and Basti the Brahmans were the leading land-holding caste having 26% and 34% of the entire area respectively.[3] In sarkar of Bahraich, they are not recorded as zamindārs in the Āin but by the close of 19th century, they had acquired quite considerable landed possessions. The ta'alluqadars of Singha Chanda[4] and the Raja

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1. Ghulam Hazrat, Kwaif-i Gorakhpur MS. (Farsiya Akhbar) Azad Library, AMU, ff. 6a-b.
2. DG, Vol. 32, pp. 87-8.
3. DG, Vol. 32, pp. 87-8 and Vol. 31, p. 108.
4. For the spectacular rise of this family see Derogha Haji Abbas Ali, An Illustrated Historical Album of Rajas and ta'alluqadars of Oudh (hereafter referred to as Album) Allahabad 1880, p.22 and DG, Vol.44, p. 102.

of Ajodhya[1] owned large possessions in the district of Gonda, owing to favours from the Nawab Wazirs. The former held 325 villages and 78 pattis, assessed at Rs. 2,09,760,[2] while the latter had 669 villages and 124 pattis, assessed at Rs. 4,79,348 as in land revenue.[3] The estate of Sisandi falling under the limits of the modern districtsof Unnao and Lucknow (and falling within sarkar Lucknow in Akbar's time) was actually obtained in theka or revenue farm in 1226 Fasli (= A.D. 1817) but was subsequently converted into a hereditary possession.[4] Since a comparison of their revenue paying capacity is not possible on the basis of the data provided for c. 1900, no exact impression can be formed of changes in their position between 1595 and 1900. But it can be observed from the total number ofthe Brahman ta'alluqadars and their vast possessions in various district by 1900, that they had become much more important an element among the landed proprietors of Awadh than they were in 1595.

The Muslim zamindārs accounted for roughly 10.86% of the total revenue of the suba of Awadh about 1595. The Afghans are recorded as the exclusive zamindārs of the pargana Utraula, sarkar Gorakhpur, while in pargana Sidhaur, sarkar Lucknow, they are recorded as co-sharers. Ansaris

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1. See Album, p.4 and DG Vol. 43, pp. 79-80.
2. Album, p.22.
3. Ibid., p. 4.
4. Ibid., p. 22.

were in possession of the contiguous parganas of Ibrahimabad and Satrikh in sarkar Awadh and the pargana of Amethi in sarkar Lucknow. Sayyids only held the pargana Bilgiram and Unam, while the Shaikhzadas were co-sharers with them in the pargana Fatehpur and Haveli Lucknow in sarkar Lucknow. The zamindārs of the pargana Inhauna and Satinpur in sarkar Awadh, were converted Rajputs of Chauhan and Bachgoti clans. It appears that by 1900 the position of Muslim land-holdings had undergone a drastic change. For onething, deliberate attempts seem to have been made by the Government from time to time to create Muslim zamindārsin the midst of recalcitrant Rajput chiefs. Sher Andaz Khan, the deputy Faujdar of Baiswara at the close of Aurangzeb's reign, specially recommended the creation of Muslim zamindāris in pargana Shapur and Hadha after the revolt of the Rajput zamindārs of these parganas. The recommendations were made in favour of those officials who had led successful operations against the rebels.[1]

The Afghanshave acquired large estates in many parts of the suba in addition to their continued hold over the parganas in which they are recorded as the zamindārs in 1595.

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1. Insha-i Roshan Kalam describes the rebellion of the Chauhan Rajputs of the village Khanjura, pargana Shahpur and its suppression by one Syed Muzaffar Mohani, who was recommended for the zamindari rights of these villages. While the creation of the zamindari right of the pargana Hadha for one Syed Ghulam Mohiuddin, who might prove useful in suppression of the revolt of the Rajputs. See ff. 3a and 7b.

In sarkar Gorakhpur they held pargana Utraula and they retained it in their house till 1903 with a brief interruption caused due to seizure by the Janwar Rajputs of Balrampur in 1830. Soon afterwards they were restored to their lost possessions and by 1903 they held 73 villages and 5 pattis assessed at Rs. 44,977.[1] The estate of Nanpara was a creation of later times. The founder of this house is said to have been appointed as Qiledar of sarkar Bahraich by Emperor Shahjahan. During Nizamat period Shujauddaulah bestowed upon this house the title of 'Raja' and granted the jagir comprising Sangha, Bahraich and Kaluapara. In 1903, the ta'alluqa had grown considerably and it included 333 villages and 9 pattis. The revenue paid by them amounted to Rs. 2,48,500.[2]

In the district of Lucknow one Faqir Muhammad Khan, an Afridi afghan, was granted a piece of land by Nawab Shujauddaulah. "In 1827 he obtained the land of the pargana (Malihabad) and held it till 1843, in the meantime acquiring several villages by default." He also obtained a lien on several other lands and thus founded an estate known as Tharri-Fatehnagar.[3] Later on the estate was divided between his two sons, becoming known as Sahlamau and Kasmandi Khurd. As a whole it consisted of 26 villages and 12 pattis assessed at

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1. DG, Vol. 44, pp. 263-5.
2. DG, Vol. 45, pp. 75-76; see also Album, p. 15.
3. Album, pp.59-60 & 65; see also DG, Vol.37, pp.92-3.

Rs. 39,342.[1] Another noticeable possession of the Afghans lay in the district of Hardoi, this being the estate of Basitnagar. It was bestowed upon Dildar Khan, the son of Diler Khan, (founder of Shahabad) as jagir by Emperor Aurangzeb. The grant was resumed by Nawab Sa'adat Ali Khan but the successors of Dildar Khan managed "by means of purchase, mortgage, and other well-known means to acquire about 40 villages.[2] About 1903 the family possessions consisted of 29 villages and 6 _pattis_, and the total revenue demand was Rs. 22,270.[3]

The Shaikhzadas (or Shaikhs) seem to have lost only their small possession of _pargana_ Lucknow Haveli to Burhan-ul Mulk Sadat Khan in 1722 A.D.[4], while their other possessions remained in tact with many more additions during the subsequent period. The holders of the large _ta'alluqadari_ estates of Mahmudabad, Bithara and Bhatwamau were actually the descendents of the Shaikhzadas of _pargana_ Fatehpur. Their original possessions were enlarged as a result of the post-Mutiny confiscations of some Rajput estates; they obtained the large _ta'alluqa_ of the Bisin Raja of Mithauli consisting of 68

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1. _Album_, pp.59-60 & 65; see also _DG_, Vol. 37, pp.92-3.

2. _DG_, Vol.41, pp. 88-9; see also _Album_, p.25.

3. _Ibid_.

4. Kamaluddin Haider, _Sawanihat-i Salatin-Awadh_, pp. 7-8, Lucknow, 1879.

villages and assessed at Rs. 46,600. As a whole they now possessed 306 villages and 43 pattis for Rs. 2,67,024 in 1903.[1] The estate of the Qidwai Shaikhs, Jahangirabad, dates back to the days of emperor Jahangir, in whose name it was founded. They purchased the Bisin estate of Simranwan, a portion of Usmanpur ta'alluqa and some other villages.[2] The more significant additions were made in this estate only during the last quarter of the 19th century. In 1873 they held just 65 villages and 30 pattis, while in 1903 this ta'alluqa comprised 94 villages and 67 pattis. The Government demand was fixed at Rs. 1,32,547.[3] A branch of the Jahangirabad family was settled at Ambhapur in Bahraich district. Their possessions comprised a village and 25 pattis, all of them situated in the pargana Hisampur.[4] It was through matrimonial alliances that the Qidwais were able to acquire possession of this ta'alluqa from the qanungos of Hisampur. The Tipraha ta'alluqa of Khairati Shaikhs originated in quite a peculiar manner. It was established by a local tahsildar and flourished under his successors. But as a result of the post-Mutiny confiscations it dwindled to only 15 villages and 4 pattis, the total assessment being Rs. 9,200.[5]

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1. DG, Vol. 40, pp.62-5; Album, pp. 8-10.
2. DG, Vol.48, pp.101-2; Album, pp. 14-5.
3. Ibid., Appendix, pp. 39-41.
4. DG, Vol. 45, p.85.
5. DG, Vol. 48, pp. 106-7.

There were many Shaikh families possessing large estates in the districts of Barabanki and Hardoi. Their traditional account suggests that they had settled at an early date, but they came into prominance only during the 17th century and in the Nizamat period with their appointments as petty revenue officials. In the subsequent period they acquired superior rights over large tracts of land by using methods 'too well known' in Awadh. The ancestors of holders of the Bhilwal ta'alluqa are said to have been appointed Chaudharis by Shahjahan in 1616 in pargana Subeha. In course of time they enlarged their possessions to the extent that in 1903 they were the owners of 30 villages and 13 pattis assessed at Rs. 32,569.[1] The ta'alluqa of Kakrauli owes its origin to Shaikh Firoz, who was appointed Chaudhri by Akbar. The family held this title during the Nizamat period, when their rights and privileges were assessed for Rs. 10,000 with the absolute gift of certain villages as Nankar. In the later period, many members of this family worked as chakledars of the Awadh administration. About 1900, this estate comprised 91 villages and 7 pattis assessed at Rs. 89,140, including the confiscated property of the Unao zamindars.[2] The Shaikhs of Gopamau are are said to have been appointed Chaudharis by Humayun (1) and

1. DG, Vol. 48, pp. 106-7.

2. DG, Vol. 41, pp. 86-87.

had retained the title till the Annexation. Subsequently, they acquired two rent-free villages and a cash *nankar* of Rs. 1600. Many other villages were obtained by purchase. Around 1900 their possessions were large enough to be assessed at Rs. 17,798.[1]

The Ansaris and Sayyids are recorded in the *Āin* as the *zamindars* of *pargana* Ibrahimabad and Satrikh in *sarkar* Awadh and *pargana* Amethi in *sarkar* Lucknow in the *Āin*. They seem to have retained their possessions of Ibrahimabad and Satrikh intact for the succeeding three centuries. By 1900, 60% of the *pargana* was held by these proprietors in *ta'alluqadari* tenures.[2] In *pargana* Amethi, they seems to have continued their hold till 1900. The large estate of Salempur and Adampur Bhatpur, consisting of 30 villages and 2 *pattis* assessed at Rs. 48,566, was held by scions of the old family.[3]

The Sayyids are recorded as the exclusive *zamindārs* of the *parganas* of Bilgiram and Unam in *sarkar* Lucknow by Abul Fazl. During the period of the *nizamat* they had acquired landed possessions in other parts of *suba* Awadh as well. In district of Fyzabad the *ta'alluqa* of Pirpur was established

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1. *DG*, Vol. 41, p. 81.
2. *DG*, Vol. 48, p. 270.
3. *Ibid*., p. 113.

by one, Mirza Muhammad Ali Beg during the reign of Shuja-uddaulah. Subsequently the neighbouring ta'alluqa of Saidanwan was also amalgamated in it. About 1900, it comprised 130 villages and 108 pattis assessed at Rs. 1,26,898.[1] There was a spectacular rise similarly in the fortunes of the ta'alluqa of Samanpur. The family had originally three revenue-free villages, but between 1759-63, one Malik Nurullah rose to influence and obtained engagements for 50 villages. Subsequent additions were made in the ta'alluqa in course of time and about 1900 the estate consisted of 165 villages and 34 pattis, the revenue standing at Rs. 1,05,284.[2] The traditional account of the Bilgram Sayyids connects them with the celeberated house of the Barha Sayyids of Muzaffarnagar. During the Mughal period the place had attained a great name for the learning of its Sayyid inhabitants, a tradition which continued during the later period as well. Many persons of this place obtained high posts in Mughal service, a fact which might explain the continued ownership of land in pargana Bilgiram and its vicinity from the time of Ain to 1900. The old Sayyid families had two ta'alluqas namely Bhogetapur and Asafpur, jointly consisting of 52 villages and 3 pattis and assessed at Rs. 49,940.[3] In pargana Unao the old Sayyid family retained

1. DG, Vol. 43, pp. 97-100.

2. Ibid., pp. 100-102.

3. DG, Vol. 41, pp. 90-92; 179-83.

their landed possessions, and about 1900, they were the chief ta'alluqadars of the pargana and held 9 out of a total 36 villages assessed at Rs. 10,628 in addition to their position of chaudhari and zamindar.[1]

The holders of revenue-free grants also enlarged their possessions with full fledged proprietary rights in land, often with the connivance of the Government. There are instances when the old hereditary owners of land were dispossessed, on the pretext of rebellion coupled with the allegation of their refusal to pay land-revenue, in order to settle Muslim divines. On occasions these grants were made in hitherto barren land, expressly with the purpose of extension of cultivation and settlements. Such grants could have had but little effect on the over all position of land holdings of various clans. But some individual cases might be mentioned. The ancestors of the family of mystics established at Salon were granted 200 bighas of waste land by Aurangzeb in his 19th RY/1676 A.D.[2] Subsequently a son of Shah Pir Muhammad was awarded the revenue-free grant of the village Ashrafnagar Singhol 1679 A.D. Subsequent additions were made by later

1. DG, Vol. 38, pp. 247-8.

2. For the translation & annotation of the farmān issued by Aurangzeb in 1676 & 1689 for revenue grants to the mystics of Salon. See my paper, 'Two Madad-e-Ma'āsh farmāns of Aurangzeb from Awadh'. PIHC (1979 session), pp. 302-14.

Mughal Emperors, such as Bahadur Shah I and Shah Alam II. During the Nizamat period a number of villages were added to the already existing grant. Asafuddaulah, is said to have paid a visit to the shrine at Salon and had granted 12 revenue-free villages in perpetuity by expelling the old clan of proprietors who were Kanhpuria Rajputs for their alleged 'contumacy or rebellion', these villages yielded annually Rs. 25,000.[1]

Grants of a similar nature existed in Gorakhpur. The Sabzposh family received some madad-e ma'ash grant from Babur, but in course of time their possessions were enlarged to such an extent that in the time of Asafuddaulah it consisted of about 49 villages and in 1900, the whole grant was assessed at Rs. 14,778.[2] The house of Miyan Saheb Gorakhpur traces its origins to the later days of Muhammad Shah. Their Shia'yte leanings brought them a revenue-free grant of 15 villages during the period of Asafuddaulah. Their loyal conduct during the Mutiny proved still more benificial to them; they were rewarded with the grant of more villages. By 1900 the family possessions consisted of 61 villages at a light assessment of Rs. 8,889.[3] Here it is not possible exactly to

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1. DG, Vol. 39, pp. 101-3.
2. W.H.Sleeman, 'A Journey through the Kingdom of Awadh' Vol.I, pp. 234-5, London, 1858; see also Donald Butter, Topography Statistics of the Southern Districts of Awadh Calcutta, 1939, pp. 139-40.
3. DG, Vol. 31, pp. 119-20.

determine as to which clans of land-holders suffered due to these new allotments. Large Muslim Pindari estates were created in the present district of Gorakhpur by the officials of the East India Company in order to avert the possibility of further disturbances by setting some of the Pindari leaders in remote ports of the country. Their large possessions included the confiscated property of the Raja of Barhiapor in satisfaction of the arears of revenue. It consisted of no less than 145 villages, but the revenue assessment was purposely fixed at the low figure of Rs. 7,105.[1]

In the Āin-i Akbari, there is no entry under the zamindari column for the money-lending classes such as Banyas and Khatris, in suba Awadh. The extension of the landed possessions of these classes particularly the kayasths and the khatris in Awadh during the 19th century was not as substantial as in the Doab.[2] Awadh did not undergo the same turmoil in landed possession as the areas subject to the notorious Mahalwari system. During the time that this system was in operation at its highest pressure, Awadh (not annexed until 1856) remained immune from its inequities. Since fewer estates were put on sale there was smaller opportunity for the merchantile and bureaucratic inroads into land-ownership. The total landed possessions of Kayasth in Awadh (excluding

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1. DG, Vol. 31, pp. 119-20.
2. DG, Vol. 31, pp. 120-21.

Gorakhpur division) consisted of 156 villages and *pattis* 188 assessed at Rs. 208,361, while the Khatri estates contained 103 villages and 72 *pattis* assessed at Rs. 1,00,665.[1] In Gorakhpur division ceded to the British as early as 1801 the position of these classes was much better. The Agarwals and Kayasths together held 136 villages assessed at Rs.24,693 in Gorakhpur district alone,while in Basti district the Kayasths possessed 7.1% of the total area.[2] It is possible that insecurity too had some role to play in the absence of land-purchases by financiers in pre-1856 Awadh. Lalji says that, "the bankers and the merchants of (the Awadh Kingdom) do not keep their capital at one place due to the fear of the depredations of the *ta'alluqadars* and *zamindārs* --- illegal revenue demands of the *amils* and *tahsildars* -- there are many who are the owners of the property worth two lacs of rupees and have purchased *zamindāris* and villages in British dominions.[3]

The establishment and the subsequent rise of the Sikh 'estates' in Awadh was also purely a post-Mutiny phenomenon

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1. The total of the *ta'alluqadari* possessions of these castes is obtained from the list given in the end of the volume of the *District Gazetteers* of Awadh. In the post-1856 Awadh Districts, their most numerous possessions lay in Sitapur, Kheri, Rae-Bareili, Unao and Barabanki.

2. *DG*, Vol. No. 31 & 32.

3. Lalji, *op.cit.*, ff. 80b-81a.

The large estate of Kapurthala came into existance by a deliberate act of Government in order to reward the 'loyalists' for their role in the Mutiny. As a result many old hereditary land owners were dispossessed of their zamindaris. The estate of Kapurthala consisted with 504 villages and 49 pattis, assessed at Rs. 2,73,567.[1]

In Awadh, then, the superior land-holders appear to have maintained their composition broadly unchanged between the end of the 16th and of 19th centuries. The ta'alluqadari tenures introduced some new elements, but even here the clans already possessing zamindaris seems to have dominated. The big zamindars appear to have had the earliest access to ta'alluqa engagements in the Awadh kingdom and this remained so under the British. On the other hand where some zamindar caste recorded in the Āin-i Akbari escapes notice in the District Gazetteers, this may well be due to their conversion into under-proprietors under the ta'alluqadari system. It may well be, as we have urged in the case of the money-lenders and bureaucrats, that the stability of composition of the zamindar class was due essentially to be the late date at which Awadh was annexed. Otherwise the story of its zamindārs might have been the same as those of Western Uttar Pradesh.

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1. Album, pp. 3-5 and also DG, Vol. Nos. 42,45 and 48.

TABLE - I

Zamindār castes in Awadh in C.1595

Zamindār castes	AWADH		KHAIRABAD	
	Revenue	Percentage	Revenue	Percentage
(A) Rajputs:				
Bais	36,35,070	8.87	4,57,332	1.04
Gaur	-	-	36,93,053	8.29
Bachgoti	77,21,766	18.85	-	-
Surajbansi	-	-	-	-
Bisin	-	-	20,82,593	4.74
Sombansi	13,60,753	3.32	30,55,339	6.96
Gehlots	14,15,701	3.45	-	-
Janwars	-	-	4,15,587	0.9
Bachhils	14,15,701	3.45	39,77,894	9.07
Raikwars	-	-	-	-
Chandel	-	-	-	-
Chauhans	41,41,078	10.11	20,91,983	4.77
Rajwars	79,24,908	19.34	-	-
Tomars	-	-	-	-
Undifferentiated	96,98,537	23.68	1,03,09841	23.51
TOTAL Rajputs	3,73,13,514	91.07	2,60,83,622	59.28
(B) Other Castes:				
Brahmans	15,57,763	3.80	76,33,331	17.4
Syeds	-	-	-	-
Afghans	-	-	-	-
Ansari	15,71,712	3.83	-	-

Contd.......

Table 1 Contd....

Kumbis	10,04,183	2.45	-	-
Amins	-	-	39,67,684	9.04
Ahirs	-	-	35,66,055	8.13
Misc.	3,08,788	0.75	12,21,733	2.78
Others	-	-	4,57,332	1.04
TOTAL Others	44,42,446	9.93	1,68,46,135	38.39

SOURCE:- Ain-i Akbari : The figures are the result of a comparison of the texts of the following MSS. Br. Museum Add. 5645; Add. 6552.

LUCKNOW		BAHRAICH		GORAKHPUR	
Revenue	Percentage	Revenue	Percentage	Revenue	Percentage
2,29,96,750	28.49	13,15,051	5.45	6,76,792	5.67
-	-	-	-	-	-
21,04,023	2.60	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	10,67,385	8.94
-	-	15,82,345	6.56	51,61,321	43.27
-	-	-	-	15,60,294	13.08
91,13,997	11.28	-	-	-	-
-	-	12,11,843	5.01	-	-
53,11,950	6.57	-	-	-	-
-	-	47,40,221	19.65	-	-
43,56,254	5.39	-	-	-	-
25,05,047	3.10	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	-	-
-	-	9,66,539	4.00	-	-
1,67,72,057	20.77	1,05,64,180	43.79	20,12,533	16.87
TOTAL Rajput					
6,31,60,078	80.00	2,03,80,179	84.46	1,04,77,825	87.83
(B) Other Castes					
38,27,339	4.73	-	-	-	-
45,74,428	5.66	-	-	-	-

Contd.....

Table contd....

8,46,240	1.04	-	-	13,97,367	11.7
52,39,457	6.48	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	-	-
-	-	21,40,858	8.87	-	-
-	-	16,19,480	6.71	51,100	0.42
TOTAL Others					
1,44,87,464	19.91	37,60,338	15.58	14,48,467	12.13

(c) Armed Power of the zamindārs:

It has been shown in the previous section of this chapter that the superior proprietory rights in land had an intimate connexion with the domination of particular clan over an area. We have also seen that the major clans were able to maintain their hold broadly unchanged between 1595 to the annexation of Awadh. Although we have argued that such stability was essentially due to the late date at which Awadh was annexed by the British, one should not forget that such an uninterrupted possession of their rights also depended upon the capacity of that particular clan to maintain its hold with the help of armed power. "Armed force appears as the first historical pre-requisite for the establishment, as well as the retention, of zamindāri rights.[1]"

Use of armed power by various clans to keep their possessions intact and/or to acquire new possessions had been a continuous process in Awadh throughout the medieval period. The traditional account of the Chakla Gorakhpur bears testimon to this fact:

> "In ancient times the dominion and raj of the neighbourhood of this city belonged to the caste of Domes. Thus remains of their forts at Batyalgarh, Ramgarh, Bhindiagarh, Domangarh etc. in the area adjoining the city are found to this

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1. Irfan Habib, Agrarian System, p. 163.

day. And in the villages the caste of Tharus, i.e. the hillmen of the race of those who are now settled at the foot of the hills, had their settlements. The markets of Batwal for the sale of goods from the hills was held in Gorakhpur. From the time of the establishment of the rule of the Muslims, the markets and settlements of the Tharus gradually disappeared and exist now only in the *terai*. Some Srinet Rajput natives of Srinagar having extirpated them, established their power and are uptill now known as Raja Gorakhpuri. Thus their descendants hold the zamindāri of some of the villages of Silhat and of the pargana of the environs of Gorakhpur and Silhat hold (their lands) in accordance with the deeds of the Gorakhpuri Raja. Afterwards in the time of Akbar, the ancestors of the ta'alluqadār of Kachhar, formerly residing in the pargana of Bhauwapora with their kinsmen seized the zamindāri of the environs of Gorakhpur and Silhat which till now is in the hands of their descendants.[1]

Apart from such traditional accounts, Abul Fazl has given detailed statistical information in the Account of the 'Twelve Subas' about the military resources of the

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1. Mufti Ghulām Hazrat, Kwāif-e-Gorakhpūr, f.7a-b. The translation of this passage is given in Irfan Habib, Agrarian System, p. 160.

Bumiyās or zamindārs, viz., cavalry, infantry, number of elephants in each pargana. The sarkār-wise information is tabulated below:

TABLE I

Sarkārs	Elephants	Cavalry	Infantry
1. Sarkār Awadh	23	1,340	30,400
2. Sarkār Bahraich	-	1,170	14,300
3. Sarkār Gorakhpur	-	1,010	22,000
4. Sarkār Khairabad	-	1,160	27,800
5. Sarkār Lucknow	36	2,680	77,050
TOTAL	59	7,360	1,71,550

Almost all the parganas of the sūba possessed cavalry, and infantry. This makes it almost certain that every land holder of consequence maintained armed retainers. By the 17th century they invariably had built mud forts (garhis or qilacha) in the villages of their zamindāris to station these retainers. An interesting petition from pargana Hisampur, sarkār Bahraich, reports a night attach by certain malfactors on a village included in the zamindāri possession of one Saiyied Muhammad 'Arif. He speaks of a qilacha he had built to protect

his possessions.[1] In another document a reference is made to the razing of a qilacha by some usurpurs and it was ordered that the same be rebuilt by those who had destroyed it.[2] In the Inshā-i-Roshan Kalām a number of expenditions against such forts of reclacitrant zamindār are mentioned. R'ad Andaz Khan as well as his deputy Sher Andaz Khan boasted of their services in destroying and capturing various garhis of the zamindār of Bainswara.[3] In one 'arzdasht it is said that the Chauhan zamindārs of pargana Kanjura had refused to pay the land-revenue and with the help of 8 or 9,000 men had attacked pargana Shahpur. In retaliation, a number of their forts (garhis) were captured and many of the rebels were put to the sword. Finally they used for peace and agreed to pay the land-revenue to the agents of the jāgīrdārs.[4] In the similar manner rebellious zamindārs of pargana Bijnore and Zaidpur were suppressed. A number of their forts were taken and handed over to the agents of the Jāgīrdārs in liew of arrears of land-revenue.[5]

Any zamindār of consequence always tried to keep his hold over his fortresses, and seize those of his weaker

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1. Allahabad-1225 (Dec. 1689) New No. RAA-1304.
2. Allahabad-786 (Jan. 1684).
3. *Inshā-e-Roshan Kalām*, ff. 2a-4a, 6a-8a.
4. Ibid., 'arzdasht No.1.
5. Ibid., 'arzdasht No.2.

neighbours. The rebel zamindār of pargana Harha had captured the fort of Murtazanagar from its Sa'yid owners based in Unao. Later on its possession was restored to the owners with the help of the imperial forces.[1] Similarly new forts were built by zamindārs at places of strategic importance with the help of professional soldiers. Kharsen, the zamindār of pargana Jajmau, employed Salim Afghān and building a fort named it Salimgarh. But the Mughal forces stormed the fort, and a number of soldiers, including Salim Afghān, were killed.[2] Fortified houses situated alongsidethe highway were also used by the zamindārs to block the passage of the imperial troops. The capture of such places and their control by the imperial officials was thought to be very necessary for establishing control.[3]

A number of the mahzars seeking redress against the wrongs suffered by the petitioners and imperial orders containing a recital to the same effect also provide important clues to the strength and the use of armed power by the local zamindārs. It seems that established hereditary zamindārs usually resented the induction of any new element, such as land grantees, within their territory. During the

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1. Ibid.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid., 'arzdasht No.3.

reign of Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb, the holders of the *madad-i-ma'āsh* grants were therefore often faced with harassment from local *zamindārs*, who enforced a non-payment of the land-revenue to the grantees or ensured a refusal of payment of the revenues by the peasants (*ri'āya*).[1]

Two *farmāns* of Aurangzeb from *pargana* Sadarpur *sarkār* Khairabad direct the officials to investigate the allegation of the petitioners and report accordingly. It was contended that one Samar Singh *zamindār* of Mahnauti, *pargana* Fakharpur had a number of mounted and foot soldiers, and had became a freebooter. He raided and burnt the villages of the petitioners, mosques, and tombs being raised to the ground. A number of inhabitants were killed; money amounting to Rs. 8213/- and 6376 heads of livestock had been taken away.[2] Similarly, the *madad-i-ma'āsh* holders of a village in *pargana* Hisampur, *sarkār* Bahraich presented a *mahzar* in 1125 AH/1717 complained that the residents (*zamindārs*?) of the neighbouring villages had attached their *aimma* (grant) villages with the help of 500 persons. In the raid many inhabitants were killed, their property looted and destroyed, while the women had committed *jowhar*, even the corpses were not allowed to be buried. Moreover, the family grave-yard of the petitioners was brought under the cultivation by the malefactors.[3]

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1. *Ibid*.
2. *RAA-287 and 290* (4th Ry of Aurangzeb).
3. *RAA-1315*

Similarly the *zamindārs* of *pargana* Fatehpur Devi and of *pargana* Sahali in *sarkār* Lucknow had attached and killed the representatives of what later came to be the house of Firangi Mahal, Mulla Qutubuddin. The incident occurred in the 35th Ry. of Aurangzeb.[1]

Often the *zamindārs* defied the administration by refusing to acknowledge the authority of the Local *qāzis*. It seems that the holders of the religious offices and *a'imma*-holders were most vulnerable to the armed power of the *zamindārs* since they had no force to back their claims, hence their existance in any area depended upon the help from the military officials of the area. A petition by the family of the *qāzis* posted in Baiswara especifically mentions the tussle between their ancestors and the Bais (*zamindārs*) of the area which was going on for the Last 80 years. The *qāzis* had all the 21 *pargana* of Baiswara under their jurisduction, but due to the hostility shown by the inhabitants, they have been driven away from 15 *parganas* and now only 6 *pargana* actually remained within their judicial jurisdiction.[2]

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1. FM-185 (35th RY of Aurangzeb).

2. NAI-2618 (4th RY of Aurangzeb). I owe this information to Mr. Zakir Husain, Archivist, National Archives of India, New Delhi.

During the first quarter of the 18th century, the local chieftains andthe zamindārs had acquired much power and were in possession of considerable resources. When Sa'adat Khan Burhan-ul-Mulk was appointed the subedar of the province, he had to fight a number of battles with these chiefs in various parts of the province. Prior to his appointment as the governor of the sūba, these chiefs and the zamindārs were strong enough to undermine the authority of the nāzims and the agents of the mughal jāgīrdārs as to make the work of revenue collection nearly impossible. But Sa'adat Khan dealt these refractory elements with such firmness that in the very first year of his tenure, the total amount of collection increased from barely 70 lacs to 107 lacs of rupees. On realizing his ability and competence these mughal jāgīrdārs too leased out their jagirs to him on ijāra tenures. In the next two years, the total collection reached two crores.[1]

The traditional account of the capture of Lucknow from the hands of the Shaikhzādas may well contain a considerable amount of exaggeration. However, from our point of view the importance of the episode lies in the fact that even the newly appointed governor had to resort to dubious methods to reach the provincial capital which happened to be

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1. Ghulam Husain Khan, 'Imadus-Sa'adat, pp. 7-8.

in the hands of local zamindārs.[1] Or one may think of the power gained by the Kanhpuria chief of Tiloin, Raja Mohan Singh, by plundering the Saiyad owners of Mustafabad and the Bais chieftain of Khajurgaon. When Burhanul Mulk decided to end the growing pretensions of the chief battle took plea. Mohan Singh was killed and all his possessions which lay in the jurisdiction of suba Awadh were seized.[2]

Burhanul Mulk was able to keep the recalcitrant elements of the province in check, but with his death the local chieftains began to reassert their power. The successors, Sa'darjung's letters to Muhammad Shah are full of references to the rebellions and of the zamindārs. It was alleged that with the help of their strong forts and numerous armed retainers, they refused to pay the land revenue and undertook depredations all round.[3] The nawab-wazir had to be throughout on the march; and the nawab wazir offerred this as an excuse for omitting to heed urgent summons from the imperial court.[4]

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1. Kamaluddin Haider, Swānihāt-e-Salātin-e-Awadh, pp.7-8; A.L. Srivastava, FTNA, pp. 33-5.
2. 'Imadus Sa'ādat, pp. 7-8, FTNA, pp. 35-7.
3. Mansūr-ul-Maktūbāt, pp. 6-7, p.89.
4. Ibid., pp. 4-6; pp. 38-40.

In Safdarjung's letters addressed to wazir Qamaruddin Khan, it is stated that due to the rebellious attitude of the chieftains, additional troops are to be maintained in order to carry on the work of revenue collection and keep the malefactors under the effective control. This had enhanced expenses while the actual income (from the jāgirs?) had fallen, and the Nawab-Wazir had claims outstanding for which he had no jāgirs. At another place he says that he had instructed his wakīl (at the imperial court) to be present at the time when new jāgir assignment orders were issued for the province of Awadh, so that he may invite the attention of the wazir towards the accute problem faced by the nawab-wazirs in administering the turbullent province of Awadh.[1]

The zamindārs and local potentates were always prone to take to banditry. Roads and the highways were considered to be quite unsafe, and it was always considered necessary for heavy armed escort to accompany the treasures passing through the territorial limits of Awadh.[2]

Among the major rebellions by the zamindārs during Safdarjung's reign, was a fresh one by the Kanhpuria chieftains of Tiloin. He had collected together a numerous body

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1. Ibid., pp. 46-7.

2. Ibid., pp. 7-8; pp. 14-16; pp. 17-18, 42.

of armed retainers and possessed a very strong fort. It was sorrounded by a deep ditch and sorrounded by the extensive belt of dense and thorny jungle. But the forces of Nawāb-wazīr were strong enough to xdefeate the Rajput forces and to caputre the fort in (1739).[1] Another important uprising was that of the Gaur zamindārs of sarkār Khairābād. It appears that they had refused to pay the land-revenue to took banditry. Safdar Jung, through forced marches reached their strongholds, of the fort of Nabigarh and Katesar. These forts fell after a sieze of eleven days and with some difficulty the Rajputs were defeated and the area was brought under control.[2]

After the battle of Buxar Shujaʿ-ud-daula was forced to reduce his regular army, and strong exception was taken by the company officials at the reported attempts of the nawab to re-organize the army. As a result of revenue collection could proceed only with the help of the British forces. Such help was always available to the local officials of the nawab-wazir as the company was entitled to receive

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1. Ibid., pp. 30-31; In a letter addressed to Nawab Ishaq Khan (?) Ṣafdar Jung conveyed him the news of his victory over the rebels of Tiloi. Their forts were captured and a number of Rajput chiefs were put to sword. Ibid, ff. 77-8. See also FTNA pp. 92-4.

2. Ibid., pp. 6-7.

large sums of money out of these collections. Indeed, the English looked askance at the *zamindārs* refusal to pay revenue for the amounts so withheld were sure to be "expanded on those numerous forces which the *zamindārs* raise and (?) up only to support them in their resistance to Government.[1]"

The revenue contractors, had constantly to face armed resistance of the *zamindārs* in their respective jurisdictions. Often they were ruthless in suppression of the uprisings. The atrocities committed by Almas Ali Khan against the *zamindārs* of Doab were reported to Middleton in 1778. However, in whatever he did he obtained the help of the British forces.[2] But it was thought that the destruction of the forts of the *zamindārs* in Doab, "will have many ill consequences and accordingly the nawab-wazir was advised to adopt, "more concitiatory mode of proceeding" when using British forces against such element.[3]

In the early years of Asaf-ud-daulah's reign, the *zamindārs* of Gorakhpūr went into rebellion. The intensity of these disturbances was such that *nawāb-wazīr* had to proceed

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1. FASC, 12 Jan., 1778, NAI

2. FDSC, 8 Jan. 1778, NAI

3. FDSC, 8th Jan. 1778, NAI. For a later account of Almas Ali Khan, when he was around 80 years old, see J.V. Valentia, *Voyages and Travels in India Cyclone, the Red Sea, Abbysinia and Egypt 1802-6*, 3 vols. London, 1809; Sec. Vol. I, pp. 136-7.

in person to suppress the rebellion.[1] A group of bandits made a night attach on the royal treasury, when it was going to Lucknow from Baiswara. A good number of company sepoys accompanying the treasury were killed. Obviously such an attach could have been made only with the help of local zamindārs.[2]

The death of Asaf-ud-daulah in 1797 marks a watershed in the history of Awadh, it offered an opportunity to the Company to conclude new treaties with his successors first with Wazir ʿAli and then with Sa'ādat ʿAli Khan (1798-1814). Now the subordination of the kingdom of Awadh to the company was complete in every respect. The army had to be disbanded and even the work of the revenue collection was to be done only with British help. The help had mixed results. It was alleged that the, "country was pillaged under the sanction of the British name and under the terror of sepoy bayonets" and also, "the more parties (of the sepoys) were sent out in support of the amīn, the more were called for.[3]" To remedy such a situation, it was suggested by the Resident that the 'crown dues' be leased out to the zamindārs for a number of years instead of being collected by amīns. Under

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1. *FSC, 26th Feb. 1777 (c) and 21th April 1777(D), NAI.*
2. Ausaf-al-Asaf, ff. 69b-70a.
3. Heber, pp. 84-5.

this system 'proofs' were to be furnished by the king for the outstanding dues against the error zamindārs before military help was given by the British to coerce them into making payments.[1] Such a tedious process could only further encourage the zamindārs. The king, accordingly remonstrated that, "all his difficulties have arisen from his entire confidence in the friendship of the company. That this induced him and his ancestors to disband an excellent army and thus they have became unable, without help to enforce payment of their ancient revenues.[2] Under these circumstances the zamindārs had acquired such power as to make the king plead for his own survival, "from the only enemies he has or is likely to have, his rebellious zamindārs.[3]" The 'judicious care and 'scrutiny' of each and every case by the Resident, before the requisition of the king for sepoys was met, had adversely affected the fortunes of the kingdom. The king was unable to face the rebellious zamindārs, as they had driven away many of his officials from their areas and in this process, "the chief actual sufferers at the present movement are the king, who gets little or nothing even of his undoubted dues, and the traveller, who unless he has such a guard as I have had better sleep in a safe kin on the other side of the Ganges.[4]"

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1. Ibid., p. 85.
2. Ibid., p. 86.
3. Ibid., p. 87.
4. Ibid., p. 88.

The zamindārs were able to multiply their armed retainers, forts, cannons and guns after the death of Sa'adat Ali Khan (1814). This became possible as the king was unable to check their activities, and the British help too was not forthcoming to the king in his attempts if ever made to punish a rebellious zamindār. It should not be assumed that they were simply 'invincible' or Awadh government was in any way less competent to control the situation. Sleeman describes how the Kanhpuria Rajput chiefs of Nain were suppressed by Raja Durshan Singh and Bukhtawar Singh during their term of nizāmat of the district Salon (in which lay the Nain estate). But when the affairs of this place were entrusted to a court favourite, Hamid Ali, the situation undergone a change. Thereafter, "the Kanhpuria have recovered all the lands they had lost, restored all the jungal that had been cut down, and they are now more powerful than ever. They have strengthened their forts, and built some new and added greatly to the number of their armed followers, so that the governor of the district dares not do any thing to coerce them into the payment of just demands of government or to check into their usurption and outrages.[1]" The Gaur zamindār of Banthar in Bainswara named Kesri Singh paid Rs. 1,50,000/- annually in revenue, but thought it expedient to maintain 1000 matchlockmen. With these forces he defeated and slew a chakledār Sobha Ram and faujdār, Shaikh Karim Buksh.[2]

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1. Sleeman, I, pp. 134-5.
2. Butler, p. 100.

Such defences could have been broken very well, but the army employed to bring down these zamindārs was never given adequate supplies as to carry any long siege of the garhis, most of which were situated in midst of thick bamboo jungle. On the other hand the supply line of the besieged rebels could not be successfully broken, as the neighbouring zamindār, always entertained a strong sense of fellow-feeling for them. Although the tatal strength of Awadh forces was said to have been 54,000, it was, "an ill paid, disorderly multitude employed in coercing the zamindārs under the orders of the chakledār.[1] It was thought of it to be, "useful only to the enemy, it in dangerous to the well being of the state, utterly useless for war, most mischievous during peace.[2]" The number of the retainers kept by the zamindārs was computed at 100,000 men, and they were mostly drawn from the caste of the zamindārs.[3]

The country was dotted with innumerable fortresses, surrounded with dense forests, carefully rendered inacessible for state forces.[4] All the zamindārs invariably kept cannons and big guns for the defence of their forts. A combination of all these factors always proved more than a match for

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1. Thornton, p.36.
2. CR, 1845 (111), p. 388.
3. Thornton, p.36.
4. CR, 1845 (111), p. 421.

the "royal forces." Sleeman estimated that some 250 mud forts and about 500 pieces of cannon were deployed in their service.[1]

It seems the British officials had no clear idea of the actual strength of the zamindārs, and whatever they guessed was a gross under-estimate. The actual position came to light only after the Rebellion of 1857 was over, and the British officials started some sort of combing operations in the province. As a result 1575 forts were destroyed and 720 pices of cannon were seiged.[2] In addition to these general statements, We possess a statement showing the armed strength of 149 land holders of southern portions of Awadh. It was prepared by the deputy commissioner of Salon (then a large administrative division of southern Awadh) in 1858. We find that every land-holder invariably had a kacha or pucca fort and a number of armed retainers. Even small land holders having two villages, maintained a fort. The statement gives us the following statistics:[3]

LIST OF THE FORTS, GUNS, AND RETAINERS BELONGING TO THE TA'ALLUQADARS OF SOUTHERN AWADH

Forts	Strength			Guns
	Infantry	Cavalry	Total	
150	78,211	3,313	81,524	308

1. Sleeman, II, pp. 210-1.
2. CR, 1860 (XXXV) pp.132-3 Cf. PD Reeves Sleeman in Oudh Cambridge 1971 see the introduction, p.22.
3. Board of Revenue Lucknow File No. 395/1858 (Oudh General).

Although details regarding the other parts of the kingdom are not available, still one can have an idea as to what the actual strength of the land holders was on the eve of annexation.[1]

As a necessary corollary, the British Government carried a systematic compaign to disband the retainers, confiscate the guns and destroy the forts of the land holders after the fall of Lucknow. We have an interesting lease-deed (patta) executed in 1265 F/1858 in favour of a revenue grantee. It was stipulated that the lessee should have surrendered all pieces of cannon and guns to the government officials. All the forts situated in his area should have been destroyed, the forests cleared and the ditches filled. If any other land-holder in his area had concealed any guns or cannon, the matter be immediately brought to the notice of the government. In failing to discharge these duties, stern action would be taken including the forfieture of the lease itself.[2] Other confirmatory sanads issued to recognise the previously existing allodial rights of the ta'alluqādārs,

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1. The tatal number of the forts in Awadh belonging to the land-holders were said to be around 633 at the time of the annexation. Foreign consultation No. 136/53 dated 31st October 1856. NAI-Delhi (Letter No. 340 dated 18th August 1856 from Judicial Commissioner of Awadh to seeratory to the chief Commissioner) Cf. AA Azmi, Position of Ta'alluqādārs in Awadh, p. 18.

2. Khairabad-10.

the zamindārs and the revenue-grantees invariably carried a recitation to this effect.

Lālji laments on the fact that, "among the Hindu inhabitants ofx the country (Awadh), the most numerous are the Rajputs. Most of the large zamindāri and the ta'āllugādāri of the kingdom belong to them. The fact that they possess large body of the (armed) retainers and forts, had made them arrogant and hence they had became disrespectful towards the others. Some of these idiols show no consideration towards the priestly class of the Brahmans .... and openly defy the religious customs.[1]" Apart from this, the government annually incurred heavy loss to its income, as these land holders tried to get the maximum concession by way of nānkār. The actual machinism as to how the nānkār was increased has been discussed elsewhere.[2] The additional income so gained was again invested by the zamindārs in raising the number of the retainers, forts and cannon.[3]"

In many ways the increase in armed power of the zamindār was a direct consequence of the British interference in day to day affairs of the kingdom. No doubt the zamindārs

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1. Lalji, Mirāt-ul Auzā, ff. 74a-76b.
2. See Section I of this Chapter.
3. Lalji, op.cit., p. 91.

had always kept a number of the retainers maintained forts, rebelled or taken to banditry under Mughal rule. But by and large, they seem to have been kept in check till the reign of Shuja'ud daulah. But after Buxar a sort of 'dyrarchy' was introduced in Awadh and interference was attempted at all the levels without any recognised system of policy. The Awadh administration became a prey to changing policies of the British Governor -Generals "Everything ..... mere guess work and experiment. One governor general, or one Resident had adopted one plan; next had tried some thing wholly different.[1]" On occasion, company sepoys were deployed immediately to crush rebellions of zamindārs, while on other such occasion, help was refused even on the requisition of the king himself. Such a situation could not but greatly encourage the zamindārs to take up arms against the government as well as against their fellows.

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1. CR, 1845 (111) p. 421.

CHAPTER VII

JĀGĪRS IN AWADH

A. SEVENTEENTH CENTURY:

Most of the civil and military officials holding a mansab in the Mughal empire were paid their salaries by assigning them the revenues of well-defined tracts (in terms of parganas or villages therein). The total pay claim (talab) of an official had to be exactly equal of the jama' of the area assigned in his jāgīr. Some of these mansabdārs were also paid their salaries in cash (naqdi) by the emperor out of his income from unassigned areas (khālisa). The mode of payment was always decided by the emperor himself, at-least in theory. The jāgīrdārs were supposed to make their own arrangements to collect the land-revenue and to administer their jāgīrs. Often the small jāgīrdārs or those posted in far-off areas used to farm-out their jāgīrs to people known as ijāradārs for a fixed sums after allowing the deduction on account of the local claims and the cost of collections.[1]

1. For discussion of jāgīr system in the Mughal empire see, Irfan Habib, Agrarian System, Chapter VII and Athar Ali, The Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb, Bombay, 1966, Chapter III.

The earliest form of the term jāgir appears to have been jāi-gir, (jāi meaning 'place' and gir meaning 'holder') as in indicated by a document of 1559[1] from Awadh. Subsequently, through a liguistic curruption such assignments were called jāgirs, though the earlier spelling also recurs though rarely.[2] Iqta' and tuyūl were also used as synonyms for jāgir and tuyūldārs as a synonym for jāgirdār.[3] The assignments held by the princes of blood were put under the formula, tuyūl-e-wuklae' pādshāhzada-i-wālātabār.[4]

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1. FM-1 (967/1559) one among the earliest known farmāns of Akbar confirming a madad-e-ma'āsh grant of 2600 bigha in pargana Sahāli, sarkār Lucknow to the ancestors of latter Firangi Mahal family.

2. Abdul Qadir collection-4 (1026 'amli/1617) in UPSAL. This chaknamah stipulates of demarcating 480 bigha as madad-e-ma'āsh to one Shaikh Abul Qasim from pargana Nasirabad sarkar Manikpur. The assignment was made out of the jāi-gir of one Jam 'Ali Beg.

3. See 'Abdul Hameed Lahori, Bādshāhnāmah, Bib.Ind., Calcutta, 1867-68, I (ii), p.216 for the iqta of one Fidai Khan at Gorakhpur; about the iqta' of Madha Singh at Khairabad, Ibid., I,(ii) p.222; about the iqta' of sūba Awadh to Islam Khan, Ibid., II,p.164, also in Muhāmmad Saleh Kambo, 'Amal-e-Sāleh, Bib.Ind., Calcutta,1912-46,II,p.310; Mutaqid Khan son of Najābat Khan was assigned the faujdāri as well as the tuyūldāri of sarkār Bahraich during 31th R.Y. of Shahjahan at the mansab of 2000 z/ 2000 s (800 2-3H) Ibid.,II, p.272.

4. See Inshā'-e-Roshan Kalām, f.7 about the complaint of Sher Andaz Khan that the bandits, highway robbers and Mewatis carried on their activities in pargana Luckhow, Bijnore and Sandilah unchelked as their areas of operations in which lay the jāgirs of the princes (tuyūl-e-wuklāi pādshāhzāda-i-wālātābār) and the big nobles like Aziz Khan and others and these areas were outside the faujdāri jurisdiction of Sher Andaz Khan.

About the extent of the jāgīrs in Awadh prior to 1780 A.D. we have no statistical information. Awadh was one of those provinces in which all jāgīrs were resumed to the khālisa (imperial lands) in 1574-75 by Akbar. Presumably, the jāgīrs began to be given here from 1581 onwards, after Shahbaz Khan Kambo's unauthorised concessions to the nobility in that year.[1] In the 31st R.Y. of Akbar (1586-7), the emperor remitted one-sixth of the revenues of the khālisa in the sūbās of Allahabad, Awadh and Delhi, on account of low prices, and the remissions totalled 4,05,60,596 dams.[2] This suggests that in these sūbas, the khālisa had a jama' of 24,33,63,576 dāms as against the total jama' of the sūbas of Allahabad, Awadh and Delhi as 1,01,58,01,546 dāms recorded in the Āin. Though the size of the khālisa in the sūba of Awadh cannot still be separately determined, it is probable that it could not have been much less than 8,11,21,192 dāms of the total revenue yielding area, the mean of all the three sūbas. The reminder must have been assigned in jāgīrs.

There is little specific information about the relative sizes of the khālisa and jāgīr lands in Awadh during the 17th century. But the Dastūrul 'amal-i Shahjahani,

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1. Abdl Fazl, Akbarnāma, III, p.494.

2. Ibid.

belonging to Aurangzeb's later years, shows that the vast bulk of the revenues in Awadh had been assigned in jāgirs and little remained in the khālisa. Unluckily, the sarkār-wise figures do not accord with the sūba totals, but the general picture is clear enough:-

TABLE - A[1]

sūba/sarkār total	Total jama'	Jama' of the khālisa'
SŪBA AWADH	27,95,79,419 dāms	67,74,800 dāms
1. sarkār Awadh	5,20,31,300 dāms	--------------
2. sarkār Lucknow	10,85,56,025 dāms	62,00,000 dāms
3. sarkār Bahraich	44,16,306 dāms	--------------
4. sarkār Khairābad	7,02,33,000 dāms	48,00,000 dāms
5. sarkār Muʿazzamabād Gorakhpūr	2,43,250 dāms	4,32,210 dāms

1. Add 6588, ff.36b-37a. However, the total jama' of the khalisa for the entire ṣūba according to the sarkār total was 1,14,32,210 dāms, a much higher figures than has been actually shown. Similarly there is an apperent error of transcription for sarkār Moʿazzamabād Gorakhpūr.

B. ADMINISTRATION OF JĀGĪRS:

If we examine the surviving documents from Awadh during the 17th century, we would find that those relating to the jāgir administration are very rare, while papers relating to the madad-i ma'āsh grants and even zamindāri rights are quite numerous. This is obviously because the families that have preserved documents have been more concerned for maintaining their claims on the ma'āfi and zamindāri titles, while the jāgir papers were of no interest from such motives, unless, of course, they related to in'ām or altamgha' jāgir. Nevertheless, explorations at the Regional Records Office (Allahabad), Research Libfary of the Department of History (AMU) and the National Archives of India (New Delhi), resulted in the discovery of a certain number of papers, which, studied together, help to give some picture of the jāgir administration as it functioned in Awadh during the 17th century.

A jāgirdār receiving his assignment in an area would invariably be an outsider. The documents show that a jāgirdār would either appoint his own agents to collect the taxes on his behalf or farm out the taxes of his jāgir with a view to assuring stable revenue-receipts. When the jāgirdārs made their own arrangements by appointing some agents, they used to take from the latter a qubūliyat (agreement) to collect

certain amounts. Such deeds were executed, keeping in view the hāsil (previous revenue collection) figures of the jāgīr. The cost of the collection and other obligations ofthe jāgīrdār were always deducted from the amounts agreed to be paid by these agents. Wepossess an actual specimen in the form of a qubūliyat deed executed in 1116 F/1708 by one Dilawar for a jāgir in pargana Sandila, having a jama' of 41 lakh dāms. In all, excluding the cost of maintaining the sehbandi troops and peshkash to faujdār, Rs.22001/- were to be paid to the jāgirdār in two instalments.[1]

The 'āmils generally belonged to the jāgīrdār's own staff, and were, like their masters, usually outsiders. One recalls that Charles Elliott on the basis of his own reading of documents relating to the Unao district, gained the impression that the 'āmils "were hardly ever natives of the pargana, and did not necessarily hold the office for more than a year."[2] The 'āmil had to maintain an armed contingent

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1. See NAI 1487-(1116 F/1708). This qubūliyat was executed in the presence of village official including Jangash Das, amīn, shiqdār and mehta, Kishan Das, waqāi' nigār, Tilak Chandra, Kārkun and the mutasaddis of the Government. The instalments were not equal. Rs.13,200/- were to be paid in kharif and Rs. 8,800/- in rabi seasons.

2. Elliott, C.A., The Chronicles of Oonao, Allahabad,1862, pp. 106-7.

for quelling any minor resistance to his authority, and in case he met stiffer opposition, he could call the faujdār to his help.[1] Very often the big jāgīrdārs were also entrusted with the faujdāri jurisdictions in their respective jāgīrs. The payment to the 'āmil was done either by allowing him a certain percentage of the revenue-collection or a fixed salary.[2]

The assistance of hereditary village officials such as the qanūngos and the chaudharīs was indispensable for the 'āmils of the jāgīrdārs. They used to present the previous year's assessments, which were accepted in toto, but in case the 'āmil asked for a higher assessment, the revision of the previous figures was also done by these officials. Similarly, they helped the 'āmils in collecting the outstanding balances from the peasants as per their records, against which there were no appeals.[3]

From an early document (c.1619) from sarkār Bahraich, it appears that some jāgīrdārs used to assign a village of their tankhwāh jāgir to their troopers directly. If in such

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1. Ibid., p. 109.
2. Ibid., pp. 106-7.
3. Ibid., pp. 112-13.

a village some areas had been already granted to the madad-i-ma'āsh holders, the troopers were directed not to interfere with such possessions.[1]

The small jāgīrdārs, or those having their postings in a far-off area, always tried to farm out their jāgīrs. Certain conditions were imposed upon these revenue contractors or ijāradārs. There are actual instances where they were asked to treat the ri'aya gently so that they might remain settled and carry on cultivation. It was thought to be the duty of the ijārādār to see that even "one biswa of cultivable land should not be left uncultivated."[2] It appears from the claim by a patwāri (village accountant) that hereditary officials serving in the ijāra villages were paid their salaries by the revenue-farmers.[3] The system of ijāra had

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1. Allahabad-789. The village kapana was in tankhwāh jāgīr of one Mirza 'Isa, and he had assigned this village to four of his troopers. A madad-i ma'āsh grant made over to a lady by imperial farmān was to be exempted from their collections.

2. NAI-1574 (37th RY of Aurangzeb). This qaul-o-qarār relates to village Somb in pargana Sandilah suba Awadh in the jāgir of prince 'Azimuddin ('Azimushshan) at a total jama' of Rs.445/- for the year 1101 F/1693. The qubuliyat was given by Muhammad Qa'im, the gumashta. The total ārāzi (area) of the village was 445 bighas.

3. NAI-1287 (1254/1838). This parwana was issued to the chakledār of Sandila to enquire into the complaint of a village patwāri regarding his pay claims against the mustajir.

become so popular during this period that even the a'immadārs or holders of madad-i ma'āsh grants started this system of the revenue realization in their villages.[1] The ijāradārs had no salary or land grant in view of the services performed by him; but, as Butter put it, "the difference between the sum, which he has for the year engaged to pay into the public treasury" constituted his official income.[2] In case of natural calamities, the ijāradārs could be provided some relief by being allowed a deduction, and by the jāgirdār not insisting upon the full amount for which the contract was held.[3]

The terms on which ijāra of a jāgir was given are set out in a document of 1081 F, (1673 A.D.):[4]

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1. Firangi Mahal-84 (4th RY of Farrukhsiyar). The village in question belonged to Mulla Nizamuddin and was situated in sarkār Bahraich, while the grantee residence happened to be at Lucknow. (This collection of Firangi Mahal documents is preserved in the Department of History, A.M.U., Aligarh).

2. Donald Butter, Topography and Statistics of the Southern Districts of Awadh and Sultanpur, Calcutta, 1839, p.99.

3. A jāgir having a total jama' of 4,40,000 dāms belonged to Durvesh Beg mansabdār and others. It was situated in pargana Husampur and 'Arif held it on a ijāra tenure. He had agreed to pay Rs.7,332/- in two instalements. (See Allahabad - 885 (1080 'amali). But the perusal of the receipt issuedby the jāgirdārs to 'Arif for the same year shows that he paid only Rs. 4,000/- (1,60,000 dāms). He was also exempted from any further obligation of any subsequent payment for the year (1080 'amali) (See Allahabad-889).

4. Allahabad-884 (1081 F/1675).

"Agreement (Qaul-o-qarār): I, Mir Abu Turab, mansabdār, affirm that (tract carrying a jama' 'dāmi of) 2,10,000 dams from pargana Hisampūr, sarkār Bahraich has been assigned in our jāgīr with effect from the beginning of the kharif, Udi II, 1081 'amali. Therefore, at my own will, I have given the said (territorial) assignment of) dāms in ijāra (farm) to Mir Sayyid Muhammad 'Ārif in fixed payment of Rs. 2,850, to continue to long as the jāgīr is retained by me, so that he may pay the said amount to me annually according to the following particulars. Should, God forbid, a natural calamity happen, then according to the (official) rate (of remission) for the said pargana, I will allow a deduction in the said amount. But if by God's grace, more is realized in excess of the said amount, that is left to the said Sayyid." The following figures follow:

(Jama')	2,10,000 dāms
comprising [illegible]	2,00,000 dāms
[illegible]ment	10,000 dāms
Equivalent, for the year at 7 months, 7 days	Rs. 3,162
Deduct on account of nānkār (salary of officials), muqaddami (muqaddams' pay) (illegible)	Rs. 312
(Balance)	Rs. 2,350

From this document, it is clear that the ijāradār pledged himself to pay a certain amount annually to the jāgīrdār - in this case, a fixed proportion of the jama' dāmi (7 months, 7 days in the month-scale). From this he was allowed a fixed deduction for payment to local officials, etc. This explains the claim of the patwāri on the ijāradār we have just mentioned. The jāgīrdār allowed him the profits of the enterprise, as Butter defines them; but the ijāradār could claim a reduction on account of officially sanctioned tax-remissions for the locality.

While the jāgīrdār had to make arrangements locally to collect the revenue either directly or through contractors, he had to meet certain obligations to the government. For this purpose the more substantial jāgīrdār, at any rate, used to keep a wakīl permanently at the imperial court to safeguard his interests and to receive the orders on his behalf. Two very interesting papers concerning a dispute between a jāgīrdār and his wakīl have survived, which shed light on this part of the functioning of the jāgīrdār's establishment. The two documents are translated in Appendix to this chapter.

One major obligation on the part of the jāgīrdār was the maintenance of a number of animals of standard breed for the imperial stables, providing the cost of feeding

them as per schedules and a number of other supplies under the general name of khwūrak-i dawābb.[1] It appears that the amount required for the purpose was sent by the jāgirdār to his wakīl. The wakīl, in turn, paid the required money to the ijāradārs (farmers) of the Khwurāk-i Dawābb, met the expenses for maintaining the animals (horses as well as elephants) and, when the time for maintaining the animals was over, handed them over to the officials of the Imperial stables.

In addition to these duties, the wakīl was called upon to look after the interests of his master at the Court such as getting him a better jāgīr. In the present case the wakīl was allowed the sum of Rs.300/- by the jāgirdār to be spent on the business (muhimsāzi) of getting a new jāgīr assigned in pargana Amethi.

The accounts submitted by the wakīl in connection with these expenses were subjected to rigorous scrutiny. He had to present all the original receipts under the seals of the ijāradār of khwurā -i-dawābb and the mutasaddis of dawābb, at the time of the audit by the jāgirdār's officials.

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1. For a discussion of these obligations see Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India, Bombay, 1963, p.269 and M. Athar Ali, The Mughal Nobility Under Aurangzeb, Bombay 1966, pp. 50-53.

In case of any dispute between the <u>wakīl</u> and the <u>jagirdar</u> regarding the settlement of these accounts, the matter was apparently placed before some Imperial officials. Unfortunately, the exact designation of this official is not given in our documents; he might well have been the <u>dīwān</u> or <u>faujdār</u>.

The work of revenue assessment and collection in the jagirs was greatly facilitated by the <u>qanūngo</u> and the <u>chaudhari</u> at the local level. Elliott says that they were appointed by a <u>sanad</u> from the Emperor from amongst the leading families of the locality. Elliott who used documentry material from the Unao district and other areas of Awadh, believed that there was little material difference in the nature of the work performed by these officials. Normally a <u>zamindār</u> of the area was always appointed as the <u>chaudhari</u>. While a member of an accountant caste (notably Kaisths) was appointed tothe post of <u>qanūngo</u>. Very often they acted in a manner antogonistic to each other i.e. the <u>chaudhari</u> tried to protect the interests of the land owning classes, while <u>qanūngo</u> acted in a manner to serve the imperial cause well.[1] In ordinary article of property freely saleable.[2] The <u>qanūngo</u> were always consulted

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1. Elliott, <u>op.cit.</u>, p.112. W.C.Benett holds for 'Ray Bareilly district that the office of <u>Chaudhari</u> was held by the respectable but throughly second rate families and the great houses never took any appointment as local officials under the Mughal government. (W.C.Benett, <u>A Report on the Family History of the Chief clans of the Ray Bareilly District</u>, Lucknow, 1870, p.58).
2. Irfan Habib, <u>Agrariar System</u>, pp. 129-30.

by the *'āmils* before the revenue demand was fixed upon a particular village or upon any landholder. Generally their recommendations were accepted by the authorities, but in case the demand was to be raised, it was left to the *qanūngo* to distribute the additional tax burden keeping any eye over the actual conditions.[1] In the *raiyati* villages as well, he was held primarily responsible for the payment of the revenue by collecting it from the peasants. The presence of these revenue officials with more or less well defined tracts of country was conspcuous enough in the 'Ray Bareilly district to merit Benett's remark that "the *pargana* boundaries generally corresponded with the limits of the chieftains authority and the distribution of his clan and each was already furnished with a body of hereditory revenue officials."[2] The tenures, so created, were somehow considered 'sacrosant' as the holders of these offices were seldom 'turned out and replaced by the new families' though it happened that different branch of the same family was installed in these posts.[3]

Apart from Elliott's description of these officials in Onao district and Benett's remarks pertaining to the

1. Elliott, *op.cit.*, p. 113.
2. Benell, *op.cit.*, p. 59.
3. Elliot, *op.cit.*, p. 111.

qanūngo of 'Ray Bareilly' district, we have a series of Persian documents belonging to a family of qanūngo in pargana Lahorpur, sarkār Khairabād, beginning from the 17th century. The information of these documents, apart from confirming the features already noticed by Elliott, bringout a number of other interesting features.

It is almost certain that these pargana officials acted in a manner as to exercize some check upon each others jurisdiction, thus precluding the possibilities of fraud. A parwāna of 25th R.Y. of Aurangzeb recalls a representation by the wākil of a qanūngo to the effect that the Hindu chaudharis and qanūngo of the adjoining pargana principal. Now these Hindu officials were refusing to do on account of the qanūngo being a Muslim. The earlier practice was ordered to be restored.[1]

The qanūngo might make recommendations for the imperial favours and subsistance grant to the needy and poor. A parwana of 1074/1663 records that Sheikh Muhammad Amin, the qanūngo had brought to the notice of the court the poverty of Sheikh Nazar Muhammad and recommended a subsistance grant for him, as a result, 155 bigha of land was assigned to Shaikh Nazar Mohammad as madad-i ma'āsh.[2]

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1. LUL - 46885.
2. LUL- 46887.

An interesting mahzar recites the services rendered by the predecessors of the petitioner, present the qanūngo and their dealings with the imperial officials of the area. Most of these services related to religious and social welfare. The preceding qanūngo (ancestors of the present) are said to have helped the inhabitation of the qasba, building, mosques, madarsa, khanqāhs and sarāi (inn). Due to their efforts the tenets and practice of Islam had been established, juma' and 'Id prayers were held in congregation, food was distributed among the poor. Similarly, arrangements were made for the instruction of the students. They maintained good relations with the jāgirdār, by securing payment of the revenue dues in time and treating their gumasthta (a gents) in a befitting manner. In the 40th R.Y. of Aurangaeb, one Lal, a Bais Rajput of havelī Lahorpur had raised the banner of rebellion, and to suppress this uprising, naib-faujdār of Khairabād came to Laharpur and stayed with the petitioner, who, in turn, entertained him in a befitting manner. But the petitioner was arrested and was forced to pay Rs. 5,680/- to the naib-faujdār. He was released as a result of the intervention of the influential persons of the locality.[1] A number of respectable persons of the locality signed in their endorsement of the

1. LUL - 46905.

statement. The possibility of the involvement of the qanūngo in the said rebellion can not be ruled out.

In remembration of these services, the qanūngo were entitled to get either 2 1/2% of the total revenue collected or held 2 1/2% of the assessed land on revenue free tenures.[1] This gave him a direct interest in raising the amount of assessment and collection. His counterpart, the chaudhari was always rewarded by grants of rent free land or a money grant. In addition to their sanctioned perquisites, they seems to have usurped a number of fiscal rights during the 18th century.[2] Another maḥzar from the family of qanūngo at Lahorpur records that the qanūngo felt entitled to extort bhent, nānkār and other gifts within his jurisdiction.[3] Similarly a parwana of 1048/1638 records that Shaikh Hamid qanūngo held responsibilities of kōtwāli in pargana Laharpur and was also collecting the sair taxes from haveli Laharpur. But these rights were being usurped by one Lakman chaudhari. The parwana set aside the latter's claim.[4]

The qanūngos in collusion with the 'āmil often managed to become land holders themselves, thus doing away

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1. Irfan Habib, Agrarian System, p. 131.
2. Elliott, op.cit., p. 112.
3. LUL - 46904.
4. LUL - 46883.

with the difference that had existed between them and the *chaudharis*. At the same time the position of the latter receded into the background and, according to Elliott, their interest in the work of revenue-collection declined, leaving the *qanūngo* in the undisputed authority. As a matter of fact there was only one among fourteen *pargana* in the district of Unao, where the *chaudari* could manage to maintain his position unmolested before the Annexation.[1] In the Ray Bareilly district, Benett points out that there was a stront tendency among the *qanūngo* to enter into *ta'alluqadārī* settlements. However such attempts were mostly thwarted by their powerful neighbours, still they were able to enquire the "small estates of Hardaspur and Binohra."[2]

In case of the Lahorpur family it not clear whether the *zamindārī* rights were acquired by the *qanūngos* subsequent to their gaining the office. But a *parwana* of 1122/1711 recognises these two as separate rights held by a member of the family, possessed from earlier times within the particular village of Laharpur. The village headmen (*muqqadam*), cultivators (*muzārian*) etc. being the *ri'aya* of that place were called upon to recognise these two

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1. Elliot, *op.cit.*, p. 112.
2. Benett, *op.cit.*, p. 49.

separate rights of the said qanūngo, and hence he alone was entitled to get all the perquisits attached to the zamindāri and qanūngoi rights.[1]

But while the qanūngo might have scored off against the chaudharis within the machinery of revenue administration, they were themselves becoming subservent to the zamindār. As the zamindārs grew stronger, the qanūngo tended to collect[ed] the land revenue on behalf of the land holders instead of the government. Their other fiscal rights simply depended upon their proximity to the respective land holders, while in the ordinary villages their services were dispensed with altogether. This at least was what happened in Rae Bareilly district.[2] It may well be that, with the collapse of the transferable jāgir system in the 18th century, the basis of the twin offices of qanūngo and chaudhari in the old form had already been removed.

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1. LUL - 46890.

2. Benett, op.cit., p. 67.

APPENDIX

(i) Allahabad - 896

I, Puland Khan, mansabadār in the birādari (clan) of His Highness Diwan Khudadad Khan Jiv affirm as follows: Sayyid Muhammad 'Arif held the office of wakīl at the Imperial Court on behalf of the said Khan. After the termination of his appointment as wakīl, the said Sayyid handed over the tashiha-namas (certificates of contingents) and other documents and papers of jama'-kharch (income-expenditure) of the khwūrāk-i dawābb of Miyan Muhammad Yusuf, son of the said Khan. As a dispute ensued, the matter was taken before Faulad Khan. On this account Sayyid 'Arif presented the receipt (qabz) of the farmer (ijāradār) of Khwūrak-i dawābb and dastaks (certificates) under the seals of the officials (mutaṣaddis) of the imperial horse stables and elephant stables and other papers, to the agent of Faulad Khan and Ghasi Ram, the (new wakīl of Khudadad Khan. However, the case before Faulad Khan not having yet been settled, Diwan Khudadad Khan Jiv and Miyan Muhammad Yusuf maintained their dispute with the said Sayyid. Now that Miyan Muhammad Yusuf came to the town of Biswa, I took Sayyid 'Ārif along to the town of Biswa. Muhammad Yusuf told Sayyid Muhammad 'Arif; "Previous to this you had given in writing a tamassuk (bond) for Rs.3000/- for the expenses of badr navisi (audit) from the beginning of your term as wakīl to termination of appointment: Sayyid Muhammad 'Ārif replied

that badarnavisi (audit) has not been in accordance with proper norms (be-hisab). Miyan Muhammad Yusuf told Sayyid Muhammad 'Arif: "The Jama'-khurch of khwurak-i dawabb etc. of the period of your wakilship have been lost." Now he should submit copies afresh so that the accounts of his period as wakil might be settled. Sayyid Muhammad 'Arif produced copies of the jama'-kharch of khwurak-i dawabb etc. together with receipt (qubuliyat) of the farmer of khwurak-i dawwab before Miyan Muhammad Yusuf, Ghasi Ram, Diwan of Khudad Khan, Shaikh Habib Ullah, the darogha of the Court of justice. Miyan Muhammad Yusuf allowed deductions (mujra) of Rs.200/- which the said Sayyid had paid to Miyan Muhammad Yusuf in rawal-bandi*, and also Rs.556/- that Shyam Das shiqqdar of pargana Hisampur had forcibly realised from the village Bedaura of the property and zamindari possessions of the said Sayyid in excess of the jama' and had recorded under receipts (wusul). Finally, after disallowing (bazyaft) the (expenditure of) Rs.200/- on account of Muhammad Khan, mansabdar, and not writing off the expenditure of Rs.300/- on account of expenses for assignment of pargana Amethi, in all Rs.1,480/- annas 5 came out in the balance due to the said Khan, (itemised) as follows:-

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* The meaning of this term could not be traced.

1. The sum the said Sayvid asked Udai Singh banker (sāhu) of Shahjahanabad to pay to Muhammad Khan mansabdār, and entered as deduction in his accounts of jama'-kharch, not allowed by Muhammad Yusuf, and required to be refunded. Rs. 200

2. The sum Diwan Khudad Khan Jiv had got paid to the said Sayvid for arranging the assignment of pargana Amethi, and the said Sayvid truthfully admitted that without spending the sum, he had drawn the amount from the jāgīr and entered in the jama' and kharch register; he sought condonation, but Miyan Muhammad Yusuf refused to condone it. Rs.300

The balance (tattima) in the accounts of the jama' and kharch. Rs.980 annas 5

(ii) Allahabad - 1232

MEMORANDUM

List of receipts of the ijāradārs of khwurāk-i dawābb and other papers which were given by Sayyid Muhammad 'Ārif to the undersigned Ghasi Ram 38 sheets received by the signatory, Ghasi Ram (seal).

Receipts (qubūz-ul-wusūl) for Rs.3128/- 11 annas under the seal and signature of Shaikh Firoz ijāradār of khwurāk-i dawābb of the imperial establishment (khassa-i sharifa') Rs. 3128/- 11 annas; 28 sheets.

Dastaks under the seal of officials of the dawābb, 6 sheets.

(i) For handling over 10 horses under the seal of Darab Khan etc., one sheet.

(ii) For handing over one imperial elephant under the seal of Abdul Rahim Khan, one sheet.

(iii) For medicines for imperial elephants, one sheet.

(iv) For medicines for horses, one sheet.

(v) For the straw shed for the stable of horses, one sheet.

(vi) Repairs of the tiled roof for horses, one sheet.

The certificates for monthly payments to Shaikh Firoz, ijaradar(?), one sheet.

Qubuzul wuṣul for Rs.227/- received by the signatory, Ghasi Ram, according to accounts, one sheet.

Qabzul wusūl for 8 asharfis under the seal of officials of the office for fines on account of absence, one sheet.

Certificate (for receipt) of interest under the seal of the security (mālzāmin) of Miyan Khudadad Khan Jiv, Rs.1900/-, one sheet.

C. COLLAPSE OF THE JĀGĪR SYSTEM:

The jāgīr system underwent considerable transformation in Awadh during the 18th century. As Mughal authority declined, officials assigned jāgīrs in Awadh found it more and more difficult to collect revenue. They thus began to lease out their jāgīr to the governer Burhānul Mulk Sa'ādat Khan on ijara.[1] His successors as nawāb-wazīrs began to insist that no new jāgirs be assigned in the province effectively.[2]

After the battle of Buxar in 1764, Shuja'uddaulah was obliged to pay Rs.50 lacs as the war indemnity. Similarly a number of subsequent treaties between the English on the one hand and Shuja'uddaulah and Āṣafuddaulah on the other side stipulated for the maintenance of a large sepoy army at the nawab's cost. The amount of be paid by the nawab on this account kept on fluctuating. This ultimately created serious dislocations in the finances of the Awadh kingdom. The nawab delayed the payment on one prelex or the others, while company insisted for full and early payment of the amount under the subsidary allience. It became increasingly necessary for the company officials to know all the financial resources of nawāb-wazir's government. Hence the revenue documents were

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1. Ghulam Husain Khan, Imad-us-Sa'ādat, pp. 7-8.

2. Mansūr-ul Maktūbāt, ff. 46b-47a.

obtained by the Residency officials and this now forms a important source of knowing the exact extent of the khālisa land, and the area held under the jāgir tenures, in Awadh at this time.[1]

These account papers pertains to 1187 F/1780. The total jama' of the khālisa land in Awadh kingdom was Rs. [illegible],13,10,7[illegible]0/14/-. The entire amount was the area granted in jāgirs was only Rs. 28,58,555/10/6, and more than half of this amount or Rs. 14,80,000/- was assigned by the nawab to the company. Thus Rs. 13,78,555/10/6 now represented the income of the jāgirs. But even the holders of these jāgirs were none else but the blood relations, mother of Shujauddaulah, some close relations and a few petty officials of the nawāb. There was no noteworthy tankhwāh jāgir held by any high military or civil official of the state. Such situation clearly portrayed, "the reduced level of state service and aristocratic status after the decay of the Mughal Empire."[2]

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1. Charles Purling to Culcutta Council, 30th April and 22nd June 1780, Foreign Department Secret Consultations, 1780, NAI. For an analysis of these documents and a subordinate position of the aristocracy in nawab regime see Richard B. Barnett, North India Between Empires, pp. 173-181.

2. Ibid., p. 174.

D. IN'ĀM ALTAMGHĀ

One form of jāgir instituted by Jahangir was al-tamghā. It was non-transferable and supposedly for life or hereditary. Quite naturally, it was very sparingly granted. But as the Mughal Empire decayed, the al-tamghā grants not only became commoner but began to be converted into hereditary properties. In Awadh, we can trace the fortunes of one particular al-tamghā grant in special detail owing to the richness of surviving documentary material.

The original documents and oral traditions preserved in an Urdu work, the Nāma-i-Muzzaffari relate to the in'ām-al-tamghā grant held by Diler Khan Afghān and his successors during the 17th and the 18th centuries.[1] The assignment was situated in what was originally the tappa of Shahabad in pargana Pāli sarkār Khairabād, sūba Awadh. Since here we have an authentic account of a jāgir-holding family, setting its roots in the soil from the above documents and the history of the family they expose are of great interest.

Diler Khan Baqarzai Afghān, son of the rebel Afghan noble Darya Khan, had a chequred military and political

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1. Muzzaffar Husain Khan, Nāma-e-Muzzaffari, 2 Volumes, Mujtabai Press Kanpur 1917. See Vol.I pays 165-72 for the text as well as the photographic repreduction of the original farmān and pages 7-42 of the same volume for the biographical details.

career. He rose to prominence under Emperor Shahjahan and he reached the zenith of his career under Aurangzeb. He held a number of important administrative and military assignments. In the 21st R.Y. of Shahjahan he received the mansab of 1000 zāt/1000 sawār alongwith faujdāri jurisdiction over the sarkārs of Kalpi and Kannuj. The title of Diler Khan was also conferred to him this year. In 23rd R.Y. he was asked to accompany prince Aurangzeb in Qandhar campaign. He was instrumental in capturing the famous fort of Bust alongwith Raja Rajroop from the qizilbāsh forces. As a reward of these notable deeds his mansab was raised to 2000 zat/2000 sawār. Similarly in Bijapur campaign he fought under the command of prince Aurangzeb and got admiration for his heroic deeds. In 32rd R.Y. he was sent to chase prince Shuja from Benaras along prince Sulaiman Shikoh and as he performed the job successfully, his mansab was raised to 4000/4000 and after the defeate of Dara Shikoh at Samurgarh, he switched over his allegiance to Aurangzeb and received the revised mansab of 5000/5000 with the faujdāri jurisdiction as well as 'ā milship of sarkār Lucknow. His son Jamal Khan was made his deputy and was granted the mansab of 1000/1000. In the battle of Deorae, it was he who broke the strong defence built by Shah Nawaz Khan for which

Emperor awarded him a cash inam of Rs. 50000/- and his 1000 sawārs were made du-aspa seh-aspa.[1] Emperor sent him to expell prince Shuja from Eastern India, where he was firmly established. He fought a number of closely contested battles with the Assames under the command of Mir Muhammad Saeed Mir Jumla. There were a number of occasions when the imperial forces were at the verge of defeat but the personal courage and volour displayed by Diler Khan had saved the moments of crisis. Indeed the chronicles of the Mughal court allude in a high tone the victories of Diler Khan. In 7th R.Y. he was called back to the capital and was asked to accompany Mirza Raja Jai Singh to check the Maratha advances. The expedition was quite prestigious for the emperor as it was being sent at a time when Amir-ul-Umara Shaista Khan and Maharaja Jaswant Singh had failed to achieve the desired results. Diler Khan was able to capture a number of strong Maratha forts. Now 2000 of his sawārs were made 2-3 H. He turned his attention towards the chieftains of Deogarh and Chanda, who had not paid the tribute as per agreement. Raja Chanda submitted and presented a nazar of 20000 rupees and 1000 asharfis to Diler Khan, while Rs. 5 lacs & 7000 asharfis were

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1. Regarding his exploits at Deorai it is said, "In that contest - which was a testing ground of bravery - Diler performed such feats as obliterated the memory of Rustam and Isfandyar", Mathir-ul-Umera, Vol.I,pp.497.

paid for the imperial treasury. As a settlement for future [illegible] Diler Khan left for Delhi where his mansab [illegible] raised to [illegible]000/5000 (3000 2-3 H).

[illegible] beginning of Aurangzeb's reign he held much of pargana [illegible] jagir. [illegible] the text of the farmān issued by [illegible] Aurangzeb [illegible] 1072/1661 granting inām al-tamgha [illegible]. It transpires that he already held a tankhwāh [illegible] jagir of 26 lac dāms in pargana [illegible]. According to his requests the total [illegible] increased by [illegible] lac dāms, but the enhancement [illegible] against inām al-tamgha which was [illegible] 37 villages of tappa [illegible]. The territory assigned in inām [illegible] Diler Khan's watan. This grant [illegible][1] [illegible] [illegible]ity.

A [illegible] representation by Diler Khan's son and [illegible], Kamal-ud-din Khan claimed that in the area [illegible] al-tamgha, which is [illegible] villages, which originally [illegible], Diler Khan had extended cultivation [illegible] mosques, tombs and gardens.

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1. The [illegible] as the [illegible] of this farmān has been [illegible] preserved by the author of Nāma-e-Muzzaffari, Vol. [illegible], pp.174-17[illegible], along with its photographic reproduction (obverse portion).

No furth[illegible] illumin[illegible] actual state of affairs [illegible] or [illegible]. [illegible]ever, according to local tradition [illegible] in pargana [illegible] Mewghans. [illegible] zamindars were [illegible] in highway robbery and [illegible] alleged that on [illegible] they [illegible] treasury. Consequently a punitive expedition [illegible] sent by the emperor to punish them under the command of Diler Khan. It was in reward of his success in this expedition that Anjai Khera and the adjecent township of Manespur were granted to him in jagir.[1]

Diler Khan had four sons, namely Kamal-ud-din Khan, Chand Khan, Diler Khan and Fateh Mamur Khan. It appears that in respect of inām jāgir the law of primogeniture was followed as it was not inhereited by the other members of the family as an ordinary article of property. However, the other sons also obtained substantial means to maintain themselves [illegible] out of the other landed possessions of Diler Khan other than the al-tamgha grant, or they themselves had purchased zaminaris of villages from the other proprietors. The history of these minor branches will be touched upon at the end of this section.

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1. Ibid., Vol. [illegible], pp. 165-17[illegible].

After Diler Khan's death in 27th R.Y./1683, the inam al-tamgha passed on to his son Kamal-ud-din Khan. He petitioned to the court in 29th R.Y. 1686 that one Muhammad Tahir mutasaddi of the tuyul of prince Muazzam (Shah Alam) had been harassing people within his al-tamgha assignment by exacting forbidden taxes; he had also caused some losses on the arti[illegible]. It was thereupon ordered that the al-tamgha villages were to be exempted from all interference whatsoever from the revenue officials of the princes jagir[1]. Again in 31th R.Y./1688, Kamaluddin Khan protested that the deputy faujdar of sarkar Khairabad was making illegal extactions on account of [illegible]ash, sair and tankhwah within his al-tamgha of six lakh dams. In response, it was ordered by a farman that the jagir was to remain in perpituity with Kamaluddin Khan, and his descendants and no forbidden exactions were to be [illegible] in by the faujdars.[2]

Kamal-ud-din Khan, too, had a very celebrated military and administrative career. Apart from his hereditary al-tamgha jagir of [illegible], he held a tankhwah jagir assessed at 7 lac 7 thousand dams in sarkar Kalinjer, suba Allahabad. Another

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1. Ibid., Vol.I, pp. 230-3.
2. Ibid., Vol.I, pp. 231-6.

[illegible] [illegible] indon [illegible], sūba [illegible]. [illegible] [illegible]dāri [illegible]iction of various s[illegible]rk[illegible]r [illegible]. Even the [illegible]ri [illegible] of the province of Awadh was entrusted to him for [illegible]. In the 15th R.Y. [illegible] was [illegible] to lead the imperial forces to crush the satnāmi [illegible] Narnaul. [illegible]ough the [illegible] material and other [illegible] to the imperial forces [illegible] the extensive deployment of cannons and other fire arms. It was with great difficulty that the satnāmi rebellion was crushed. The historians of Aurangzebi [illegible] degree of sorrow that they had repeated[1] [illegible] Hindu [illegible]. Kamaluddin Khan [illegible] in his drive against [illegible] tells us that "these two gen[illegible] back [illegible] group of satnāmis consisting [illegible] ganwār." Similarly in 35th R.Y. an imperial farmān was issued to Kamaluddin Khan to meet out the threat caused due to the[illegible] depredations. A perusal of the farmān [illegible] Bedor Bakht was sent at [illegible] the rebellion in pargana

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1. Saqi [illegible], Maasir-i-Ālamgiri.

2. Nāma-e-Muzaffari, Vol.[illegible], p. 252.

Hindon and [illegible]. The prince succeeded in reducing the Jāt [illegible]ongh [illegible] rt of [illegible]. The prince left the place, leaving [illegible] Raja Bishen Singh Sisadia as his deputy. [illegible] was provided with the necessary ammunition including the cannon. He tried his best efforts to achieve the desired result, but he could capture only the fort of Sarkār. Meanwhile the Jāts had extended their activities [illegible] [illegible] Kohban, Bhasavar etc. The 'āmils and the jāgīrdārs of [illegible] parganas were unable to face their onslought and hence they fled to the capital. Thereupon Kamaluddin Khan was appointed the jāgirdār as well as the faujdār of pargana Hindon Biyana and its mahāls to deal the malefactors firmly. So as to enable the 'āmils and their gumashtas to realize the revenues without any hinderence.[1] Kamaluddin Khan proved his worth and crushed the Jāt rebellion fully. In the 40th R.Y., a farmān was issued to him to accompany prince Muʿazzam at Lahore and to take any assignment from him in connection with Buluch disturbances at Multan. He was asked to act in place of Sher Afghān Khan.[2] After a very severe engagement and a closely contested battle, the imperial forces emerged victorious.

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1. Ibid., p. 255-7.

2. Ibid., I, p. 260.

[illegible] period of Kamaluddin Khan marks the watershed in the history of Diler Khan's family. He had enormous resources at his disposal in the form of al-tamgha and tankhwāh jāgirs. A number of additions were made to the landed possessions of the family by purchasing the zamindāri villages from the hereditary land-holders. Only in the vicinity of Shahabad, there were as many as 1450 villages possessed by Kamaluddin Khan. We are told that most of these villages were purchased by him. These villages were spread over in the parganas of Pali, Sandi, Sandilah, Malihabad, Sirsa, Banan, Barwar. Kamaluddin had made our to each of his four brothers a share from the ancestral property, consisting of 12 villages, [illegible] muhalla [illegible] each. Even after affecting a distribution of the shares among his brothers, Kamaluddin Khan possessed, "an estate so extensive that hunired of the people were employed to work over there."[1]

With the death of Kamaluddin Khan in 1125/1713, the family fortunes came to an end. As none among his descendants [illegible] able to perform any remarkable act of military skill [illegible] such honours. His eldest son Muhammad Sardar Khan was confirmed with the possessions of in'ām-al-tamgha grant of his father. The imperial farmān was issued

1. NM, Vol. I, p 389.

under the [illegible] of [illegible] Saiyed [illegible] Khan, ʿAbdullah Khan (Barha) Qutubul Mulk in the first R.Y. of (Farrukh Siyar). By his time the jamaʿ of the al-tamgha was increased to 7 lac dams, but whether this was done by increasing the number of villages or by a [illegible] enhancement of the jamaʿ of the existing grant is not clear. It was now ordered that the entire parganas of [illegible] sarkar Khairabad, having a total jamaʿ of seven lakh dams be confirmed to Muhammad Sardār, and the zamindārs of the area were directed to pay the māl-o-wājib to his ʿāmils.[1] The total absence of the words like inʿām al-tamgha from this imperial order is noteworthy. He too had purchased a number of [illegible] shares in various villages, like his ancestors. In 172[illegible] a group of hereditary zamindārs of Rajput Gaur clan had sold a number of shares in tappa Rasulabad, pargana [illegible] sarkar Khairabad. The total amount paid by Muhammad Sardar for these considerations was Rs.1744/11 annas.[2]

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1. For the actual text of the farmān issued under the seal of Abdullah Khan Qutubul Mulk in the Ist R.Y. of Emperor Jahandar Shah, see Nāma-e-Muzaffari, Vol.I, p.317.

2. Allahabad [illegible]. The earlier sale-deed was executed for the sale of 19 biswas in five different villages in tappa Rasulabad and tappa Haveli for Rs. 1124/12 annas while another 1[illegible] biswas in three different villages of tappa Rasulabad were sold for Rs. 560/-. Both these [illegible] were [illegible] in the year 1141/1728 by the same [illegible] in favour of Muhammad Sardar Khan.

[illegible] ers that [illegible] ll t [illegible] d large revenue resources at [illegible] l, [illegible] costly adventure.

Muhammad Sardar is said to have died in 1150/1737. Afterwards we have no documentary evidence to reconstruct the fortune [illegible] the family, [illegible] account in the *Nama-e-* [illegible] *f r* [illegible].

[illegible] er Anda Khan succeeded him in [illegible] *jagirs*. He continued to manage the same till [illegible] in 117 /1758. He was succeeded by his son Muhammad Aijaz Khan, who died in 1211/1796, leaving no male issue. However his wife had adopted her nephew Muhammad Khan as successor to the *jagir* of her husband. He held the possession of the property till his death in 1255/1839. Ghulam Ghaus, alias Rao Andaz Khan, his son and successor to the title actively participated in the mutiny of 1857, but afterwards he was executed and his estate was confiscated. This, more or less brought the main line to a close. The fortunes of the other bfanches of Diler Khan's family are discussed elsewhere.

The superior land-rights of the family had originated as a result of *al_tamgha* grant and apart from this grant Diler Khan and thereafter Kamaluddin Khan had quite high position in the civil and military heirarchy of the *Mughal*

empire. They held many *jāgirs* in *tankhwāh* had *faujdāri* jurisdiction and *'āmilship* in a number of *sarkārs*, got cash rewards on a number of occasion. Their resources were quite substantial to enable them purchase a large number of *zamindārs* in the *parganas* adjacent to Shahabad. The hold of the family over the estate continued for quite sometimes. In a judicial decree of British period it was remarked in some court of *pargana* Daryabad that, these *nawābs* (the descendants of Diler Khan had acquired such a large estate either by mortgage or by froud or by the use of their armed power. The estate was kept intact for a considerable period, till it was divided into small fractions. In most of the cases the old hereditary *zamindārs* had purchased a number of such shares.[1]

We find that a large number of sub-assignment were made by Diler Khan and afterwards by his successors to the various individuals out of the *in'ām-al-tamgha* grant. Some such alienations were even ratified through imperial *farmāns*, but in most of the cases, the *sanads* were issued by Diler Khan and his successors directly. In 25th R.Y./1682, a *farmān* was issued by the emperor to confirm the grant of 100 *bigha* cultivated land in *pargana* Pali as *madad-i-ma'āsh*

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1. *NM(i)*, p.167.

and 20 bigha in tappa Shahabad for setting an archerd upon one diwān Azmatullah, on the basis of an earlier sanad issued by Diler Khan.[1] In 1666, fifty bighas of barren land were assigned by Diler Khan to one Maiku, who was working as the chaudhari of the markets in Shahabad. This inʿām land was in pargana Pali. The incumbent was expected to treat the peasants and other inhabitants with kindness.[2] In 1676 Diler Khan alloted five bigha land to some Muslim chobdārs for setting and their separate quarters and settlement in qasba Shahabad.[3] In 1679 he assigned to his son Fatehmamur Khan the village Khānpūr Khāṣ out of his own various villages held in al-tamgha'. The assignee was to. take special interest in the extension of cultivation and the settlements, erecting of the new buildings etc.[4] A parwana from Diler Khan next year clarified the limits of this grant. It included the garden of Wali Niʿamat and the ferry as well.

In 1685, Kamaluddin Khan allotted 21 bighas of barren land in the vicinity of the township of Shahabad to one Malik

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1. Ibid., I, pp. 182-5.
2. Ibid., I, pp. 191.
3. Ibid., I, p. 191.
4. Ibid., I, p.188.

Ismail Khan Amanzai an Afghan, with his sons, in order that he might settle peasants there.[1] By another deed Kamaluddin Khan ratified the settlements made by Taj Khan Afghan Mehmond and his brothers in the township and reconfirmed his possessions over forty bighas of (cultivated) land.[2] Perhaps in this way as many as fifty-two mohallas were established by the members of various Afghan tribes in Shahabad.[3]

Within his al-tamgha jagir Kamaluddin Khan seems to have dealt with the chaudharis and the qanungos as he pleased. He dismissed some incumbents of these offices on grounds such as incompetence and inability to perform their assigned duties, their ill-treatment of the riaya and acts of high handedness. New persons were appointed at their place. They were instructed to treat the raiyat gently and to carry out their duties honestly.[4] Again in 32rd R.Y./1688, the office of the chaudhari of Dilergunj and its ferries were assigned to a new incumbent dismissing the old one. The person so appointed was asked to look at the welfare of the general

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1. Ibid., I, p.2[illegible].

2. Ibid., I, p.267.

3. Each mohallah was named after the chief of the tribe which resided there, see the compiled list of these mohallas in Nama-e-Muzaffari, I, p.181.

4. Ibid., I, pp. 269-70.

population, bankers and the traders.[1] Similarly Sher Andaz Khan in 1162 A.H./1748 appointed one Muhammad Qadirdad as the Chaudhari in his jagir.[2]

Quite often the holders of rights have acted like the jagirdars in their respective jurisdictions. For, they used to bestows the zamindari rights of the villages to their loyal servants. A sanad issued by Muhammad Sardar Khan in 1115/1703 to one Muhammad [illegible] sets out assigning the zamindari rights of the village Bhadsi by way of a free-gift (bakhshish). It stipulates that the superior fiscal rights of the village in question were purchased by the ancestors of Sardar Khan. The present and the future mutassadis of the estate (   ) were asked for allowing Muhammad J'afar to appropriate all the dues by way of the rusumat-e-zamindari of the village in entirely. The new incumbents were to pray for the well-being of grantholder[3]

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1. Ibid., I, p.268.

2. Ibid., I, pp. 317-8.

3. For the text of the sanad see Nama-e-Muzzaffari, Vol.I, pp.315-6. We know that Muhammad J'afar was one of the grandsons of Muhammad Mubarak, who happened to be an important functionary in Kamaluddin Khan's establishment and had worked in the capicity of diwan and mutassadi. For sometime, he held the office of the chaudhari as well. In view of these services he too had received a number of farmans and land as well as the cash grants.

Similarly Sher Andaz Khan in 1162/1748 appointed one Muhammad Qadirdad as the chaudhari of some area in his al-tamgha grant.[1]

A number of madad-i ma'ash grants were also made by Diler Khan and his successors to the various individuals from their jagirs. The sons of Shaikh Muhammad Mehdi Qadri established themselves at Shahabad and their successors in interest were granted the revenues of the village Kanharpur and Jagipur. We find a very interesting sanad issued by Diler Khan confirming the grant. It states specifically that the grantees should have concern only with the hasilat (revenues) and should not interfere with those who held their dwellings or land under the cultivation in the said villages. The sanad was issued in 1087/1676.[2] An imperial farman then confirmed the grant to one of the sons (Shaikh Hidayatullah in 20th R.Y./1677) who claimed to be holding the villages for, "meeting his needs, setting-up his residence, setting (the place) with people and layingout a sarai, garden, tanks, well and a Khanqah.[3] The possession of these villages continued

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1. Ibid., I, pp. 317-8.

2. Ibid., II, p. 151-2. A perusal of the zimn suggest that the total realization amounted to Rs.380/4 annas (asl Rs.339/; izafa Rs.41/4 annas); the jama of Jagipur was Rs.78/4 annas (asl Rs.64/-; izafa Rs.14/4 annas); while the jama of Kanharpur was Rs.302/- (asl Rs.275/-, izafa Rs.27/-). Of course the ratio between asl & izafa figures is quite interesting.

3. Ibid., II, p. 153-5.

under the uninterrupted controle of the successors of Shaikh Muhammad Mehdi, as we come across a number of confirmatory sanads and farmān in the subsequent period. A parwana, issued in the 19th R.Y. of Emperor Muhammad Shah clearly speaks that these villages, out of the watan and zamindārī of Sardar Khan, bestowed earlier upon the predecessors in interest of Shaikh Inayatullah. The same villages are now confirmed to them from 1144 F/1736.[1] The family seems to had acquired a large number villages by way of madad-i ma'āsh and zamindārī rights. In 1129 A.H./1716, Shaikh Hidayatullah by executing a taqsimnāmah had distributed all his possessions among his five sons. In all their were 17 madad-i-ma'āsh[2] villages, 3 1/4 zamindārī villages and a number chaks. Although we get papers regarding the title and disputes till 1200 A.H., but for the moment we are not concerned with these details of the fortunes of the family.[3]

Nawab Sardar Khan had also made certain alienations in respect of his property by the way of madad-i ma'āsh and zamindārī grants. In 1125/1713 A.D. he assigned five bigha of land by way of madad-i ma'āsh to the wife of one Jamaluddin Khassakhel from the village Khānpūr, pargana

1. Ibid., II, p.165.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

Shahabad.[1] In 1145/1732 A.D. zamindārī rights of the village Bhadrori in xentirety were bestowed by free gift upon one Muhammad Jaʿfar, a grand son of Muhammad Mubarak, who had been an important functionary of the jāgīr under Kamaluddin Khan makes it clear that the said village had been purchased by his ancestors so that here the al-tamghāʿ holders had also became jāgīrdārs.[2]

The five sons of Diler Khan established their houses in the various quarters at Shahabad. Kamaluddin Khan had bari deorhi, Fateh Mamur Khan at chauk deorhi, Chand Khan at Kheradeorhi, Ilahdad Khan at Nala deorhi and Diler Khan at chatideorhi.

Fateh Mamur Khan, a younger son of Diler Khan was a rank holder under Aurangzeb and is said to have died in action during the seize of Bijapur in 1096/1684 A.D. We know that in 1679 Diler Khan himself had given him the village Khanpur to him out of his inʿām grant. Apart from this, he inhereted 12 villages (presumbably of zamindārī possessions) out of ancestoral property and had himself purchased the zamindārī rights over a number of villages. His sons Murtaza Khan and Mustafa Khan held mansabs and the titles and were

1. NM-I, p.314.

2. NM-I, pp. 31-.

in possession of a large number of the villages. Salih Muhammad Khan his grandson received the title of Diler Khan in 1171/1757 from emperor Shah ʿĀlam II. Afterwards the branch disappears from our records.[1]

Very little about the family of Chand Khan is known to us. His son Pardil Khan is reported to have received the title of Daud Khan and a mansab of 4000 z/4000 s by emperor Farrukhsiyar. In 1129/1716 he granted a sanad of ma'āfi to one Shah Muhammad Faqir for the upkeeping of a tomb and the performance of the ceremonies of 'urs of the departed mystics. Pardil Khan seems to have been in possession of 12 villages in the ancestral property, presumably as zamindār.[2]

Ilahdad Khan inherited and acquired a considerable property, but he died issueless. Consequently his wife transferred this property to her nephew in 1137/1724. This comprised zamindāri rights over the villages Suhagpur, Naurozpur and a number of other urban possessions such as markets and ponds.[3]

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1. NM-I, pp. 322-28.
2. NM, I, pp. 337-8.
3. NM, I, p. 339.

The descendents of Dildar Khan, the fifth son of Diler Khan survive in records till quite recent times. In 1246/ 1830 the <u>ta'alluqadāri</u> rights of Basit Nagar (in Shahabad) were reconfirmed by the king of Awadh on this family. It includes 45 villages alongwith a recognised <u>nānkār</u> of Rs. 5000/- The incumbent was allowed to retain the necessary number of the troops to ensure the smoth administration and security for the peasants. Sa'ādat Khan, a member of this branch was a <u>tehsildār</u> in Awadh administration so that he was able to ensure the continued possession of this <u>ta'alluqa</u> in his family. It is said that the descendants of Diler Khan who held as many as 200 villages till the days of Sa'adat Ali Khan who is said to have resumed their grants.

CHAPTER VIII

ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF TA'ĀLLUQADĀRI TENURES IN AWADH

Considerable controversy exists about the rise of the ta'ālluqadāri tenures in Awadh. It has been assumed that it was a part of the well-defined policy of the British after the tragedy of 1857 to "preserve this class (of ta'ālluqadārs) for useful purpose, and to prevent its impoverishment by idleness.[1]" Although Lord Canning did not have a favourable opinion about the growth of these tenures, he yet thought the continuance of such tenures necessary for "obtain(ing) a hold over the country which shall be benificial to all the classes of its people.[2]" But his view of their origin was that it lay in a delegation or usurpation of government claims to revenue, and not in any previous existing allodial property. An extract from Lord Canning's letter is worth reproduction:

> "When we assumed the government of Oude in 1858, the greater part of the province was held by the ta'alluqadars, who represented it. They have been called 'Barons of Oude'. But this term applied to them as a class is misleading. Some had received titles from the kings of Oude, for service rendered or by court favours,

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1. Report of the UP Zamindari Abolition Committee, Vol. I, Allahabad, 1950, p. 111.

2. Ibid.

> some few are the representatives of ancient families; but the majority are men distinguished neither by birth, good service or connection with the soil, who having held office under the native government as nāzims or chakledārs, or having formed the revenues of extensive tracts, had taken advantage of the weakness of the 'native' government and its indifference to all considerations of justice, so long as it received revenues, had abused the authority confided to them by that government, and by means of deeds of sale, sometimes ex erted by violence, sometimes obtained by fraud, had become the nominal proprietors and the actual possessors of the villages, or the majority of the villages which formed what they called their ta'alluqa or estate.[1]"

Indeed such an impression was popular enough to receive the attention of Marx as well. He discussed the issue of the ownership of land at some length in his despatches to New York Daily Tribune. Although he made certain untenable assumptions in this regard, such as that "the property of the land was in the village corporation, in which resided the power of allotting it out to individuals for cultivation", he asserted explicitly that "the zamindārs and ta'āluqadārs were nothing in their origin, but officers

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1. Ibid., 111-2.

of the government appointed to look after, to collect and to pay over to the prince the assessment due from the village.[1]" Marx was led to the conclusion that the proprietary rights claimed by the ta'alluqadārs and the zamindārs originated "in usurpation at once against the government and the cultivators." The period between the annexation of Awadh and the Mutiny was to prove a testing ground for the future survival of ta'alluqdārs. The British government made every effort, "to get rid of them, as an incubus on the real cultivator of the soil and the general improvement of the country." Still the fact remains that under the feeble reign, of the nawābs, they were able to establish, somehow, their legal claims over the land, and it was but natural for the settlement officers to be engulfed in an "acrimonious controversy witn them as to the extent of their rights." Ultimately this resulted in a state of discontent and, "led them (the ta'alluqdārs) to make common cause with the revolted sepoys.[2]"

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1. Karl Mark, 'Lord Canning's Proclamation and Land Tenure in India' New York Daily Tribune No. 5344 of 7th June 1858. However, the articles are included in The First Indian War of Independence published by the Progressive Publishers Moscow (English Version) 1952, pp. 140-2.

2. Ibid., pp. 141-2.

This view of the position of the ta'alluqadārs preceded the annexation. In 1849 it was contended that the ta'alluqdārs enjoyed their rights as a result of the delegation of the rights by government officials in respect of revenue-collection. The ta'alluqadār was a "person previously unconnected with the spot, and (was) permitted to rea ize on his own account the share of the produce otherwise due to the state.[1]"

At the same time there was another view prevailing as well it was argued that the class the ta'alluqdārs did not solely consist of the people elevated to their position by the rulers, but a good number of them were the represen-tives of the hereditory chiefs, in possession of large estates in their own right. And a recognition was accorded to their superior proprietary rights by successive governments. This school took the view that the ta'alluqadārs could not just have been favoured outsiders.[2] Charles Elliott in Chronicles of Oonab, examined the issue at some length and concluded that a number of the big ta'alluqadāri houses in the district of Oonao, Fyzabad and Sultanpur were the descendants of old hereditory chieftains. But at the

1. C.A.Elliott, Chronicles of Oonao, Allahabad 1862, p. The passage has been quoted by the author from an article published in Culcutta Review (Dec.1849) p.422.

2. Elliott, p. 156.

same time, he too admitted that on occasions, it so happened that the revenue-officials seized the opportunity of acquiring superior proprietary rights by way of ta'alluqa arrangements.[1] It would be unhistorical, argued Elliott, to regard Raja Daya Shankar Dikshit of Purenda,or Gulab Singh, the Purihar of Surosee, or Dost Ali, the Saiyyed of Donao, as persons having acquired their possessions without any previous backgrounds of their own.

On the Indian side Lalji, a well-informed critic of the Awadh regime prior to the Annexation, analysed the question in details under a separate chapter in his Mirāt-ul-Auẓā entitled, "Reasons for the ability of the ta'alluqadārs to increase the malguzāri.[2]" He describes the actual mechanism through which a ta'alluqadār applied fraudulent or forcible means to enlarge his landed possessions at the cost of the government and weak neighbours. He says that most of the villages included in the estates of the ta'alluqadārs actually belonged to those zamindārs, who had little means of defending their villages. The ta'alluqadārs even did not bother to get, any sort of deed executed in their favour. Simiarly, some zamindārs, in order to escape the high-handedness of the 'āmils, sought the help of the ta'alluqadārs by putting

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1. Ibid.

2. Lalji, Mirāt-ul-Auẓā Ms. in Maulānā Āzād Library, A.M.U., Collection (Supplementary) Farsi Tarikh-60; ff. 71b-75b.

their possessions under their 'farm'. But this often subverted the <u>zamindārs</u>' own position For, after a year or two, the <u>ta'alluqadārs</u> used to take <u>tamassuk</u> from the <u>zamindār</u> under the pretext that so much amount had been paid to the <u>'āmil</u> on his account. Ultimately, such fictitious amounts would grow too heavy for the <u>zamindārs</u> to pay and then the <u>ta'alluqadār</u> would get them to transfer their lands to him by a fictitious sale. If the aggrieved <u>zamindār</u> ever thought of approaching the court, he could receive no relief. It was through the use of such methods, comments Lalji, that Beni Madha Buksh, <u>ta'alluqadār</u> of Shankarpur, Raghunath Singh of Khajurgaon (in Baisnara distt.), Harpal Singh of Sapehi in Sultanpur, and Ram Dutt Pandey of Gonda had been able to seize innumerable villages yielding them lakh of rupees.

The <u>nāzims</u> and the <u>chakledārs</u>,too, did not lag behind in making out fortunes by such methods. Lalji, especially points out the case of Raja Darshan Singh and his family. They had seized the villages of the defaulting <u>zamindārs</u>. In return for large sums of pretended balances of the revenues, the <u>zamindārs</u> were forced to execute sale-deeds. Any scrutiny of the titles of the family would reveal says Lalji, that only a negligible portion of the entire state, was held by them as hereditary. The rest was acquired in the above described manner. However, few exceptions to

the generally prevailing chaotic conditions have also been recorded. Lalji : informs us that the ta'alluqadārs of Tulsipur and Balrāmpur, and Debi Buksh, the ta'alluqadār of Gonda had already held hereditary zamindāris worth lakh of rupees.

Thus two categories of the ta'alluqadārs viz. one of hereditary zamindārs the other of outsiders, came to be firmly established before the end of the kingdom of Awadh. It is necessary to enquire about their origin, and privileges during the 17th and 18th centuries, so as to understand the degree which they attained subsequently.

Etymologically, the word, 'ta'alluqa' means connection but technically it was "used in the sense of land or area over which any kind of right was claimed.[1]" Nothing can be said with certainty as to when this term came into ordinary use The Āin-i-Akbari does not use the word at all. But from the 17th century, it begins to appear in documents. The testimony of Patrick Cornegy, "who have seen them (the terms) mentioned in a deed of the year 1642, under the seal of the emperor Shahjahan[2] is difficult to prove or disprove.

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1. Irfan Habib, Agrarian System, p. 171 and notes.

2. Patrick Carnegy, Notes on the land-revenue assessment of Upper India, London, 1874,pp.69-70. However, a petition seeking redress against the high handedness of the chaudharies of pargana Bilgiram of course refers the word, ta'alluqa as early as in 1668, but in a different context. See Bilgiram Documents (in the department of History, AMU, No.4.

In Awadh, the earliest reference known to me where the assessee has been styled as malik-wa-ta'alluqadār of certain villages, comes from a qaūl-o-qarār executed in sarkār Bahraich in 1635 A.D.[1] It seems that in case of the village in question the assessee possessed the rights of both zamindāri and revenue farm. This contention is further supported by the explanation in Khwaja Yasin's Glossary who says that the ta'alluqadārs are a kind of "zamindār who contracted to pay revenue not only for his own zamindāri, but also for the zamindāri of other persons.[2]" Generally such arrangements were made by the 'āmils and later on by the nāzims or the chakledārs owing to the convenience of revenue collection through big ta'alluqadārs, instead of making the same settlement with a number of intermediaries, or small zamindārs.

The ta'alluqadārs might have the zamindāri rights over a few villages of his ta'alluqa; but in case of the remaining villages, in which he was only an intermediary, zamindāri rights would be vested with other persons. Thus to be a zamindār was something more substantial than to be simply a ta'alluqadār of the same area.[3]

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1. Allahabad Document - 897.
2. Add. 6603, ff. 54b-55a.
3. A reference in Fathiya 'Ibriya lends support to this assumption. The claimant to the throne of Arkan joined

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Similarly Ghulām Hazrat in Kwāif-i-Gorakhpur describes three types of zamindāri tenures and says that the ta'alluqadār, or the owners of the ta'alluqa are like rājas. Theoretically, they were recognised as the owners of the villages included in their jurisdiction. In most of such villages the birtiyas also existed, and they always claimed jalkar and bankar, while they paid only the land revenue to the ta'alluqadārs, and at the time of assessment, these (birtiyas) were entitled to do-biswi (rights), or 10% of the revenue.[1] It seems that ta'alluqa arrangements in sarkār Gorakhpur were made on an extensive scale during the 18th century. A letter in the Mansur-ul-Maktubāt explicitly mentions that Nawab Badr-ud-din Khan, son of Nawab Wazir-ul-Mumālik (?) had became a wondering ascetic, and his exact whereabout was unknown. He was heard last, when he went to,

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the Mughal banners during Shāistā Khan's chittagong campaign in the hope that atleast, "if they could not become rajas, they might become zamindars, if not zamindar, then ta'alluqadar." ff. 155b-156a, Cf. Irfan Habib, op.cit., p. 172.

1. Mufti Ghulam Hazrat, Kawāif-i-zilā-i-Gorakhpur, A.D. 1810, Aligarh, Subhanullah 954/12 ff. 14a-b.

"pargana Hansi and Gorakhpur in the ta'alluqa" of the Banjaras.[1] We know for certain that, it was during the 18th century that the Banjaras emerged at the political horizen of the eastern parts of Awadh. The origin of their landed possessions lay exclusively in their numerical strength and the use of violence against the hereditary chief.[2]

One is struck by the fact that barring a few stray and often insignificant references, there is little information about the growth of ta'alluqadāri tenures and about the actual position of ta'alluqadārs in the Awadh kingdom during the 18th century. Persian texts and documents have used the word ta'alluqa often in connotations different from that in which it was used during the first half of the 19th

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1. Awadhi Lal, Inshā-i-Mansur or Mansur-ul-Maktubāt. It consists of the letters drafted by Santakh Rai, munshi of Safdarganj. These letters were addressed to Emperor Muhammad Shah and Wazir Qamaruddin Khan. The only known copy of this important manuscript is preserved at Tagore Library, Lucknow University.

2. Banjara depredators acquired considerable notoriety and in course of time they not only carved out a territory for themselves, but became a scourage for almost the entire region. No individual chieftain was able to withstand their onslaughts. To meet the threat posed by the Banjaras, the Bisin Raja of Majhauli abondened a large portion of his estate to the newly established estates of Tamkhuli & Padraune. Thus created a powerful buffer zone between his domain and that of the Banjaras. These conditions came to an end with the cession of this territory to the East India Co. (HR Nevill District Gazeetteers, Vols. 44 & 45) pp.

century.[1] But ta'alluqadārs, begin to be heard of in Awadh by the close of the 18th century.[2]

The ta'alluqadāri tenures seem to have grown rapidly in Awadh as a result of the slackness which crept into the administrative machinery of the kingdom after the death of Nawab Sa'adat Ali Khan in 1814. Elliott points out that as a result of the ijārādāri system, things had became quite favourable for the growth of ta'alluqa tenures. As long as the amāni system was practised, "the collector of the revenue had no need to be over bearing.....if the harvest failed or sickness broke-out, he had but to state the impossibility of the collection and the amount was remitted." But under the contract system, the revenue contractor was bound to pay the entire stipulated amount irrespective of natural calamities or difficulties of collection. Often if happened that some new speculator without having an accurate

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1. 'Imad-us-Sa'adat uses the word raja for Mohan Singh of Tiloin, who had his skrimishes with Sa'adat Khan Burhānul Mulk, while Mirāt-ul-Auzā' explicitly calls him the ta'alluqadār of Tiloin (f.76a). It is quite possible that the local chieftains who enjoyed considerable power & were by now reduced to the mere status of the ta'alluqadār.

2. See Akhbārat in Central Records Office Hyderabad-AR-No. 5746 (dated 20th Rajab 1213 AH/28th Dec. 1798). Some of these have been published alongwith English translations by Yousuf Husain Khan, News letters; 1767-1799, Hyderabad, 1955, p.66.

knowledge of the revenue paying capacity of the area might enter upon an agreement with the government. On such occasions he was forced in self-preservation to extort more than was due from the payers." The awadh government on its part placed unlimited powers in their hands by, "shut (ting) its eyes to the way in which they re-imbursed themselves." Under such circumstances it was thought to be mofe useful for the collectors of revenue to avoid dealing with small zamindārs and to convert big zamindārs into ta'alluqadārs or intermediaries between the smaller zamindārs and government. As such the cost of collection too was minimized "beside making the receipt of the revenue much safer.[1]"

As a necessary corollary of such arrangements, there was always a possibility that the power and the influence of the respective ta'alluqadār might grow to great proportions, and in case of their going on to rebellion, "large amount of the revenue would be imperilled." In case of any such eventuality, the chakledārs and other government officers were often compelled to moderate their ambitions. Even underhand methods were applied to keep 'peace' with the ta'alluqadārs as to reduce the risks to the minimum, "by throwing him a sop of an extra village or two at judicious

1. Elliott, pp. 133-4.

moments", while the ta'alluqadārs "were nothing both to accept these sops." As a result of such a state of affairs, the, "old ta'alluqa" waxed fact, and new ones sprang up on all sides under this vivifying influence.[1]" Such a policy in the long run had the result of continuously enlarging the ta'alluqās. In the pargana of Fyzabad in 1814, there was no ta'alluqa which could pay a revenue of Rs. 10,000; but by 1856, one estate was capable of paying an amount of Rs. 2 lacs to the treasury, while 2 estates paid Rs.70,000 each, one had Rs. 50,000 as its rent roll, while there were several estates yielding Rs. 30,000 annually to the state treasury.[2]

Broadly speaking, all the ta'alluqadārs in Awadh during the 19th century could be devided into two major catagories. The first belonged to the hereditary chiefs who had been in the possession of their estates since long and took advantage of their hereditary position to enlarge their 'estates' by the use of 'force, fraud and violence'. A comparison of the Āin's data with those of the 19th century suggests that the clans which had been recorded by Abul Fazl as zamindārs of certain parganas were able to make ta'alluqa

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1. Ibid., p. 134.

2. Ibid., note.

arrangements made in 18th and 19th centuries. But it should not be assumed at the same time that all the ta'alluqadārs or even most of them had a hereditary basis for possessing the large estates under these tenures. The two classes of ta'alluqadārs deserve separate treatment which we offer below:

(i) The Zamindārs:

In the category of the hereditary chiefs turned ta'alluqadārs mention may be made of the Tiloin estate. The Kanhpuria Rajputs held sway over the area since the Mughal times. Although Abul Fazl has recorded pargana Jais (where the possessions of the Raja Tiloin lay) under the zamindāri possession of 'various castes',[1] in all probability the dominant position was even then occupied by the members of Kanhpuria Rajputs, a fact testified by the latter accounts.[2]

Little information is available about the fortunes of the family during the 17th century. It is almost certain that they enjoyed considerable power and position. With the

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1. Abul Fazl, Ain-i Akbari, edited Blochmann, Bib., Indi. Calcutta, 1867-77, p.429.

2. Donald Butter, An Outline of the Topography and Statistics of the Southern Districts of Oudh, and Cantonment of Sultanpur, Calcutta, 1839, pp.109-110.

appointment of Sa'adat Khan Burhānul Mulk as the subedar of Awadh, they made an appearance at the political horizen of the province. In the battle between Burhānul Mulk and Raja Mohan Singh, the Raja was killed and all his possessions which lay in the province of Awadh were seized.[1] Next we hear of the Tiloin Chief when he raised the banners of rebellion against Safdar Jung. But again he was defeated and killed.[2] However, because of the internal disorder and the financial difficulties, the nawab invited the "fugitive Raja to Lucknow and was invested with the government of the estates, which were subsequently divided among, and are still held by, seven of his descendants.[3]" The senior most Shakar Singh was styled Raja and he, on behalf of the entire estate, paid on amount of Rs. 7,50,000 to the chakledār annually as the land-revenue.

Although highly critical of the administrative arrangements of the nawab-wazirs, Butter praises the good and judicious administration of the Tiloin estate. He thought it as a 'pleasing oasis' 'amid wide-spread social waste.' All the

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1. Ghulam Husain Khan, Imad us Saadat, Nawal Kishore, Lucknow, pp. 7-8.

2. Mansur-ul-Muktubat, pp. 30-81.

3. Butter, op.cit., p. 110.

brothers of Raja too were called Raja, while his nephews were called Thakurs. All share-holders paid their share of revenue to the head of the family, who in turn paid it to the chakledār. He had the jurisdiction over civil and criminal disputes as well as boundary disputes among the sub-proprietors.

Apart from these share-holders there were a number of the zamindārs in all parts of the Biloin estates, whose share of the revenue was also realized by the Rajas of the respective regions accompanied by the chakledār. In case these zamindārs showed any obstinasy they were, "left to be dealt with by the chakledārs" but, at the same time, the presence of the Raja with the chakledār ensured that the latter could not "make any undue demand from the zamindārs.[1]" State when the Biloin rajas came to be styled ta'alluqadārs.

Similarly, the Shaikhzāda zamindārs of pargana Fatehpur, sarkar Lucknow were able to maintain the uninterrupted hold since the days of Akbar[2] to the 19th century. Indeed they had much enlarged their landed possessions by this period. The ta'alluqadār of Mehmoodabad was the most

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1. Butter, op.cit., p. 113.
2. Āin-i-Akbari, p. 440.

important member of the family, while the minor branches were established at Bilhora and Bhatwamau. The ta'ālluqa of Mehmoodabad under the efficient management of Nawab Ali achieved its farthest limits, while originally they were merely zamindārs. During course of time they have augmented their territory greatly, absorbing into it the estates and villages of their weaker neighoours.[1] We are told specifically about his resources which lay in "money at command to purchase influence and a brave and well-armed force to aid the nāzim in crushing a refractory land-holder. He was able to enlarge his possessions to the extent of being able to pay Rs. 1,50,000 to the government . . in 1849."[2]

(ii) Non-hereditary Ta'alluqadārs:

This class consisted of bankers, merchants, and the agricultural capitalists on the one hand and the ijārādārs, nāzims, chakledārs and other officials on the other. As compared to their counterparts, the hereditary claiments of the supprior rights, they had grown more numerous as well as powerful at the close of the Awadh kingdom.

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1. W.H.Sleeman, A Journey Through the Kingdom of Oudh, London, 1858, Vol. II, pp. 270-1.

2. Ibid.

Bankers and traders possessing large capitals came to enjoy a significant position in the official establishment of the revenue department. They often stood as sureties for zamindārs and the ta'āllugādārs, before the chaklēdār or the nāzims for the payment of revenue-debts. On occasions it so happened that the amount of 'debt' and interest became too heavy for the land-holders to repay; sales of rights therefore followed, by which the creditors obtained the ta'āllugās of the debtors. Some of the bankers enlarged their estates by way of genuine purchases as well. But generally the cases of bankers turning ta'āllugadārs in Awadh were few.

The details of the ta'āllugadāri possessions held by Raja Gauri Shankar of Mauranwan and Chudan Lal offers us an opportunity to study how the bankers had apread their net throughout the kingdom. The ancestor of these ta'āllugādārs, one Seth Goorun Mal, was actually a resident of Agra was brought to Awadh by Burhan ul Mulk. After some time, he was relieved from the service of the nawāb and Rao Murdan of Dundiya Khera pursuaded him to settle there and to act as the family banker and chief accountant of the estate. But their successors could not pull-up together for longer, having developed a bitter quarrel over the issue of the rate of interest and the accounts of the estate. The family bankers used to pay the government demand of land-

revenue, on behalf ofthe <u>ta'ālluqādārs</u>. Such advances were always debited against the 'estate' to be paid with interest. The Rao wanted that the rate of interest should be reduced to 12% from 24%, while the banker insisted on the old rate, his plea being that since he advanced loans to other land-holders at the rate of 36%, he would incur heavy losses in case he yielded to the Rao's pressure. As the dispute went on the banker alongwith his establishment though it expedient to leave Dundiyakhera secretly and settle down at Daya Ram's Katra, near Murarman Gradually he increased his land holdings, and ultimately became one of the big <u>ta'ālluqādārs</u> of Unnao district. This repid growth might be judged by the fact that in the year 1800, Raja Gauri Shankar was not a land owner at all but in the mid 19th century his <u>ta'ālluqa</u> had become prosperous enough to pay Rs.1,18,900 annually to the government.[1]

In a similar manner Chandan Lal made a great fortunes in the <u>nizāmat</u> of Bainswara. In 18[illegible] A.D. he possessed only 3 villages, but in 1825, his estate paid Rs. $2\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs to the government. His un-interrupted possession continued till 1850, when Ghulam Ali, the <u>nāib-nāzim</u> tried to raise the revenue demand by Rs. 50,000, and this led to a conflict

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1. Elliott, op.cit., pp. 134-5.

between the parties. As a result, Chundan Lal was thrown out of his possessions, but his influential friends at the court sought the King's intervention and ultimately the possessions were restored to Chundan Lal.[1]

Another important ta'ālluqa of this clase was held by one Ramdut Pandey in the nizāmat of Gonda-Bahraich. He was, "one of the most substantial and respectable of the agricultural capitalists of Oude, and highest of his rank and class.[2]" His wealth and position can be judged from the fact that he used to stand surety for the punctual payments of the revenue dues of the principal land-holders to the extent of Rs.6 to 8 lakhs for a year. On such loans, a certain percentage of interest was charged varying with the character and capability of the land holders. He enlarged his own landed possessions occasionally by taking advantage of the necessities of his cliants and his influence over "the local authorities of the government.[3]" His ta'ālluqa paid Rs. 1,66,744 to the nāzim. But some differences arose between him and the nāzim, Muḥammad Husain over the amount of loan and interest. Consequently the 'estate' was attached, he was

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1. Elliott, op.cit., pp. 134-5.
2. W.H. Sleeman, op.cit., Vol. I, p.82.
3. Ibid.

killed and the property worth Rs. 12 Lakh plundered. However, the influential friends of the banker at the court succeeded in restoring the possessions to the family though on the condition that the demand be increased by Rs. 40,000. About 1850, the rent roll of the *ta'ālluqa* was Rs. 2,06,744 per annum.[1]

Another segment of this catagory of the *ta'ālluqādārs* comprised of the government officials such as the *chakledārs* and *nāzims*. After the death of Nawab Saadat Ali Khan the states control over the activities of the officials greatly slackened. Hence these officials had immense latitude in exercise of their powers and in collecting and depositing taxes, thus enriching themselves at the cost of both the government and the land holders. As a result they were able to carve out same territory for themselves in hereditary tenures. There were cases of actual and forcible sales, usurpations and seizures. In case any small land-holder refused the payment of government claims, an invasion of his 'estate' was sanctioned, and his estate was given over to some *ta'ālluqādār*.

Among the officials who turned into *ta'ālluqadārs* with sizeable landed possession and had attained a prominent

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1. *Ibid*.

position in agrarian society, mention may be made of the families of Bukhtawar Singh and his younger brother Darshan Singh. Their father had migrated from Buxar in Bihar to settle at Faizabad in Awadh. Bakhtawar Singh was the first to enter the service of Saadat Ali Khan as one of his "favourite orderlies" and rose to the command of a regiment of Nujeeba in 1814. It was in the reign of nawab Ghaziuddin Haider, that the fortunes of the family began to grow to astonishing dimensions. For the first time in 1817, Darshan Singh was entrusted with the contract of Bhadarse and five of its adjucent villages for an annual amount of Rs.60,000. With this beginning and his sustained effort for a name, he hold the contract for Rs. 59 lacs during the years 1827-30, and between 1830-36, for Rs. 58 lacs per annum; while in 1837 the annual amount payable in ijāra stood to 47 lacs. Most of his ijāra was included in the Sultanpur-Fyzabad nizāmat.[1] With such enormous resources and his high status, it was quite easy for him to raise the stipulated demand from the zamindāris. In case of their inability to meet out their new-revenue obligation, he could forde the defaulting proprietors to sell their villages. Thus during his own life-time, Darshan Singh was able to carve out a large ta'ālluqa for himself; the process was continued by his son with the active support of the still influential uncle,

1. Sleeman, op.cit., Vol. II, p. 153.

Bukhtawar Singh. W.H. Sleeman estimated that the rent-roll of Darshan Singh's family amounted to Rs. 2,54,000, out of which Rs. 68,000 was admitted as nānkār. Hence the total amount payable to the exchequre was only Rs. 1,86,000.[1] Similarly Bukhtawar Singh had also came to passess an 'estate having the rent roll of Rs. 2,52,000 per year.

Hakim Mehdi was the Prime minister of Awadh during the reign of Amjad Ali Shah, and his heir end nephew Munawwaruddaulah was able to acquire the possession over 300 villages in Khairabad nizāmat under ta'ālluqādāri tenures The revenue obligation of his estate amounted to Rs.40,000 per annum.[2]

The ta'ālluqa arrangements had became so popular and common by the close of the Awadh dynasty, that every district contained a number of ta'ālluqās, and many ta'ālluqādārs wielded considerable power and influence through being the important officials of the state. They maintained large numbers of armedretainers and had built a number of mud-forts (garhis). The use of fire-arms and deployment of large cannon for the defence of garhis was also a common phenomenon.

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1. Ibid., Vol. I, p. 154.
2. Sleeman, Vol. II, p. 126.

Fortunately we possess a detailed break-up of the total number of the villages held under ta'ālluqādāri tenures at the time of the summary settlement in 1856.. Keeping in view the methods adopted by the ta'ālluqdārs to anlarge their possessions, one need not be astonished to find that out of 35,174 villages as many as 23,522 or 67% were settled with the ta'ālluqādārs, while only 11,652 or 33% of the total villages were under the possession of the village proprietors. The district wise statistics are tabulated below:

Zamindārs and Pattīdārs[1]

	A District:	B Villages:	C Taālluqa Tenures:	D Other Tenures:	% of C to B	% of D to B
1.	Bahraich	3,949	3,761	188	95%	5%
2.	Gonda	4,129	3,484	646	84%	16%
3.	Partapgarh	3,633	3,032	601	84%	16%
4.	Faizabad	4,215	3,116	1,099	74%	26%
5.	Rae Bareli	1,591	1,052	499	68%	32%
6.	Sultanpur	3,351	2,132	1,218	64%	36%

1. Major Borrow's memorandum relative to the Summary Settlement of the province of Oudh FSC No.841-50 dated 8th Dec., 1859 NAI Delhi. I could not trace the work I have extracted the table from A.A.Azami, "Position of the ta'ālluqdārs in Oudh-1814-1856".

7.	Sitapur	4,421	2,692	1,730	61%	39%
8.	Mohammadi	3,131	1,754	1,372	56%	44%
9.	Daryabad	2,560	1,087	1,473	42%	58%
10.	Lucknow	1,570	575	995	37%	63%
11.	Hardaoi	1,427	464	963	33%	67%
12.	Onao	1,236	368	868	30%	70%

C H A P T E R   IX

REVENUE GRANTS AND THE GRANTEES

A. Revenue Grants:

Our information on revenue grants tends to be exceptionally rich owing to the survival of a large number of farmāns, parwānas, nishāns and other Persian documents, such as sale-deeds, taqsim-namah, mahzars, judicial decisions and other papers relating to the grantees. Many of these documents belong to particular families whose fortunes can be traced through these records for a hundred years or more.[1]

During the mughal period and later under the nawāb-wazīrs, there was a well established system through which the Emperor or the nawāb-wazīr granted the right to appropriate the land revenue and other specified fiscal perquisites from a given area of land or village in entiely (dar-o-bist) or in part for the life time of the grantee or (at a Later stage) in perpetuity. The grants provided that the grantees themselves would be exempt from payment of these taxes to government. The grants were known by the designations of suyūrghāl,[2]

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1. For example, there are large sets of cocuments belonging to a family of Bahraich and another of Sandila at the Regional Archieves Allahabad and of families of Khairabad, Firangi Mahal, Jais, Bilgiram and Shamsabad at Research Library Dept. of History, AMU, of Laharpur at the Tagore Library Lucknow University and the papers relating to the family of mystics established at Salon (private custody at Khanqah-e-Karimia Salon).
2. Irfan Habib is of the view that the term was brought by the mughals from Central Asia, Agrarian System, p.298 and note.

madad-e-ma'ash,[1] aimma[2] and imlak.[3] Along with land-grants some cash grants were also made in order to support certain individuals or institutions, and these were known as rozina[4] and saliana.[5] The 'amils and the fotadars were asked to pay the specified amounts to the grantees out of the revenue collections of particular parganas. During the later half of the 18th century and the first half of the 19th century in the kingdom of Awadh, cash allowances were sanctioned for benevolent purposes, out of the interest on loans advanced by the nawab-wazirs to the East India Company.[6] At the provincial level, the affairs of the grantees were looked after by the sadr-e-juzv,[7] while at the pargana level, matters relating to the grantees were supervised by mutawallis.[8]

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1. Literally, subsistance allowance.

2. Literally, plural of imam, but technically meaning the grantees and later on the land grants. Ibid.

3. Plural of milk (property) was also used to identify the lands assigned in grants. Ibid.

4. Jais documents - 11 (29th R.Y. of Aurangzeb/1688).

5. Jais documents - 12 (49th R.Y. of Aurangzeb/1704).

6. For such grants see, C.U.Aitchinson, A Collection of treaties, Engagements and Sunnuds, Vol.II, especially the treaty nos. XLVI, XLVIII, XLIX and I.

7. Ibn Hasan, Central Structure of the Mughal Empire, Delhi reprint 1970.

8. The mutawalli had an important role in managing the affairs of the grantees at pargana level. Allahabad-1(1063/1653) 5(1060/1650); C.A.Ellitt, Chronicles of Onnao, p.111.

Classes of Grantees - Most of the grants were made for the benefit and maintenance of the individual grantees. The basic consideration for such an act of charity was the maintenance of religious and pious classes. They were thought to stand in needof such support because, not taking to service, they kept themselves engaged either in persuing or importing religious education or offering in prayers. While most grants were made with the specific purposes as well, such as maintenance of mystic institutions (Khanqāhs), payments to their servants or other expenses.[1]

Another class of the grantees comprised those persons who had been entrusted with some religious office. In lieu of remuneration for the service, they were granted madad-i-ma'āsh lands. These offices were generally of muhtasib (censor of morals) qāzi (judge) imām (prayer-leader) khatīb (sermon-reader), mutawalli and nirkh-navīs (price-reporter).[2]

The widows of the divines and their sons or the descendants, were also entitled to receive the imperial favours by way of land as well as cash-grants.[3] Others could

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1. In some farmāns, it is stated that since the expenses of such and such divines have been enhanced due to the fact that the poor and students flock to them in large numbers, See Jais-I (1124/1716), Jais-12 (1704); 7(114./1738) etc.

2. NAI-1434 (1680 A.D.), 1273 (1673 A.D.).

3. NAI-2166 (1128-1715), 1249 (9th R.Y.?).

lay claim to grants on the basis of their being 'scholars' (tālib-i ʿIlm).

The grants made for the purpose of the maintenance of the particular institution or for some other specified purpose were fairly numerous in Awadh. The same policy seems to have continued in the days of the nawāb-wazīrs. These grants were made for the upkeep and other expenses of a masque a khanqāh imāmbāra, temple and other places of worship.[1] Some grants were made on promise of providing works of public utility digging of wells, upkeep of sarai and planting of the trees on the roadside for the benefit of the travellors.[2]

The holders of the cash-grant, and those who received some customery grants on specific occasions generally felt rather insecure in respect of the rights conferred on them. In the Jais documents we come across a number of instances, where these grantees represent to the governor of the province for the transfer of their grants from one pargana to another. Probably the 'āmil refused the payments on the pretext of the non-realization of the revenues. We find that when such a request for transfer to another pargana is

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1. Francis Bucchanan in Mantgomery Mortin's Eastern India Vol.II, pp. 347-9. Also in Butter, op.cit., pp. 138-9.

2. NAI-1341 (1670 A.D.), 1343 (1679 A.D.); Also Nāma-e-Muzzaffari, Vol.II, pp.153-5 especially for the words like:

conceded, it is usually with the reduction of the amount of the origional grant.[1] On the other hand, when the qāzi of pargana Sandila who received an annual amount of Rs. 60/- and a shawl on account of resūm-e 'Idāin (payments on the occasion of two 'Ids); got a fresh parwana issued for the grant from the same treasury, this was without any loss whatsoever.[2]

There appear to have existed no hard rules as regards the classes of the grantees entitled to receive madad-i-ma'āsh grants. Everything depended upon the well of those in authority to exercise their full descriation in this respect.

It seems that local elements often resisted the induction of grantees from outside. Even after the grantees took possession of the land, they faced great difficulty in realizing their dues. In some cases the grantees would seek to have their area of grant transferred from the disorderly (zōrtalab) area to a 'tax-paying' (ra'iyatī) locality. Sometimes the hostility of the zamindārs derived from a curtailment of their rights. In Shah Jahan's times we find that the refusal of the peasants of the area to pay revenue to the grantee

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1. Jais-7 (1144/1736), 11 (29th R.Y./1688)

2. NAI-1285 (1189/1775), 1425 (This is an undated letter, but it relates to the same qāzi who has been mentioned in the earlier document).

forded the latter to get his grant transferred from one *pargana* to another with the usual reduction of the original grant.[1] In a unique *chaknāma* executed in 1056/1664, we are informed that 40 *bighas* of land earlier measured in certain *pargana* are now transferred to another *pargana* as the cultivators (*kārindas*) had not paid the due revenue (*māl-o wājib*) to the *aimmādārān*.[2] The grant was an imperial one, though the transfer was affected by agents of the *jāgirdār*. In yet another *parwāna* (1095/1686) we are informed that the *qāzis* of Sandila had been given 10 *bighas* of cultivated land in a village to establish an orchard with a well; but the *malikān* (proprietors) having shown their unwillingness to relinquish the cultivated fields, that land from which the *qāzi* was apparently taking revenue was brought back under *jama'*; and 17 *bighas* elsewhere were given to the *qāzis* "to establish a mosque, religious house, orchard, well and habitation.[2]"

Apart from these direct references, we have a number of *mahzars* (statements of facts, prepared by an affected person seeking attestation from those who knew the facts, to be submitted to an appropriate authority for the redresal of the grievances) presented by various revenue-grantees.

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1. NAI-1474.

2. NAI-1651, 1389

They allege in most of the cases that the local zamindārs in colloboration of other officials had raided the villages held by the grantees and destroyed their property. They frequently demand enquiry and punishments.[1] Often enough the recalcitrant zamindārs were Rajputs.[2]

SUCCESSION, OBLIGATIONS & PERQUISITES:-

The madad-i ma'āsh grants did not theoretically affect the status of the hereditory proprietors of the land. What was transferred to the grantees were essentially the taxation rights; the proprietors continued to enjoy possession or claims to the produce as before, and the two rights on the same land remained distinct.[3] The grantees rights derived from the documents (farmān, parwāna) assigning them the grant, and the revenue officers were entitled to demand a scrutiny of the papers (sanads); but they were usually asked not to require the grantees to have the sanads renewed every year (سند مجدد نطلبند).[4] With every fresh administrative change

1. UPSA-278 (1627), 1546 (1636)

2. AQ Collection-4 (1026/1617); LUL-46905 (40 Ry of Aurangzeb) RAA-1315 (1125/1717) 1304 (1101/1693), 950 (17 R.Y./1676), 287 (4th R.Y./1663), FM-23 (50th R.Y./1706) 185 (38th R.Y. of Aurangzeb).

3. For a distinction between these two claims see Allahabad 457 (1177/1763); Irfan Habib, op.cit., p.301.

4. This clause was always appended in every farmān and parwāna, irrespective of the fact wether the grant was old or new one.

(new emperor for imperial grant; and new *jagirdar* for the grants from nobles) the grantees had to prove their credentials and get renewal orders.[1]

Before Aurangzeb, the grants used to be normally curtailed at the death of the grantee, and its distribution among the heirs did not necessarily follow the *shari'at* prescriptions. Aurangzeb's *farman* of 1690 deserves particular mention in this regard.[2] He calls the *madad-e ma'ash* as some thing held on *'ariyat* (loan) by the grantee; it was not therefore, the grantees property in legal terms. As such the *farman* gives the following rules:-

(a) If a grantee dies leaving a grandson whose father had predeceased the grandfather, the grandson would get the share which his father would have got had he been alive.

(b) A daughter who is married and expects to receive land from the property of her husband is not to get her share in her father's grant since she has an alternative means of subsistance.

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1. *Ibid*.
2. RAA-1880 (34th R.Y. of Aurangzeb)

(c) The daughter of a deceased grantee is to get his land in spite of the presence of other relatives.

(d) The wife is to enjoy the land of her deceased husband, but after her death it would go to the husbands' heirs-and failing them-to her own.

(e) If a grantee dying left the offspring of his brother or sister as legal heirs, the grant land was to be distributed among them keeping in view their legal claims.

(f) If a grantee leaves no heirs his land be resumed and entered into land reserved for Baitul māl (charity department).

These rules of succession were different from those prescribed by the shari'at (Muslim law) for personal possessions.

Another feature of these grants was that even the natural heirs and the legal representatives of the deceased grantee could succeed only after obtaining the confirmatory orders from the authorities. Generally such orders were issued as a matter of course, but there were quite few cases when the area of the grant was either reduced or curtailed. Moreover, continued actual control over the land was an essential condition; every confirmatory order carried a recitation to the effect that "if the land was still under

the possession and control (of the heirs) and (the same) has not been resumed (بدستور قبض و تصرف و عدم باز یافت).

It appears that during the 16th and 17th centuries, these grants could neither be sold, nor transferred to others by the grantees. The corliest instance of a sale of such grant reported to us from Awadh belongs to 1136/1723. One Saiyed Muhammad Panah is reported to have sold 46 bighas of madad-i-ma'āsh land in village Akhtiyarpur, pargana Bilgiram along-with the muqqadami rights of the same village.[1] It is quite curious to see that a person was in possession of these two rights at the same time and was selling them together without making any distinction.[2] In the following decades of the 18th century, a full fledged market of such lands seems to have been established throughout the province; and no official restrictions appear to have been enforced. In effect the grantees came to possess full proprietory rights, for their land could be sold, mortgaged and inherited in the ordinary manner.

The farmāns and parwāna conferring these grants normally carried a set passage listing all the taxes and

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1. Bilgiram - 60 (1136/1723).

2. Theoritically madad-i-ma'āsh grants were made as an act of charity and hence could not be held by those who had other means of Livlihood or were in service. See Irfan Habib, Agrarian System, p.307 and note.

lesses from the payment of which, the grantee was exempted and the perquisites to which he could lay claim. Broadly speaking the taxes from which exemption was granted were mãl-o jihãt, akhrãjãt, awãrizãt takãlĩfã-t dĩwãni and matãlibãt-e sultãni. But in addition to these previleges, the grantee have acquired some other fiscal rights which were the exclusive claims of the zamindãrs and the village headmen. A parwãna issued in the 7th R.Y. of Jahangir/1612 stipulates that the grantee of village Mahsona, pargana Sandila was to enjoy all the fishing rights in the ponds of the village. The fishermen were prohabited from making use of the ponds without paying the mãlikãna (proprietory due) to the grantee.[1] In the course of time the grantees came to possess a number of perquisites in the village. In 1858, one Aminuddin, the mutawalli of village Panwaria, pargana Khairabad presented a statement of the facts duly endorsed and certified by thirty persons, about the perquisites alleged to have been enjoyed by him as well as by his ancestors. These included, "the realization of one tanka and sweetmeats as bhent from every person laying the foundation of his house, and the rate of one sẽr (of produce) per bigha from every one

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1. NAI-1596. In fact this parwãna was issued on the basis of the alleged complaint of the grantee that Sita Mehtar and his kinsmen were in the habit of fishing in the pond of the petitioner without paying the mãlikana dues. By kirtue of this parwãna, the fishermen were to be restrained from fishing without the grantee's permission.

setting up a nova (water-raising scoop) to water their fields from the tank of the village.[1]" We know for certain that Shaikh Diam, the predecessor in the interest of Aminuddin, was originally granted five bighas of khud-kashta land in village Panwaria in 1068/1658 with the specific purpose of establishing a mosque and Khanqah and maintaining a graveyard.[2] There exist in the earlier document not a single word about the perquisites which were now claimed by the petitioner. It seems that either the grantees in course of time tended to add to their fiscal claims as madad-i ma'ash holders, or they purchased or otherwise acquired or usurped other rights, viz., of the maliks, zamindars or muqaddams. The progressive combination of these rights can be illustrated from the histories of the families of certain grantees which are reconstructed in a separate section of this chapter.

In the 16th century, madad-i ma'ash grants used to have some real or nominal conditions attached to them. We are fortunate in possessing an original farman of Sher Shah relating to pargana Sandila. It grants 60 bigha of land (half mazrua and half uftadah) to some shaikh (?). It laid down a number of obligations to be fulfilled by the grantee. He

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1. Khairabad-9; See also Iqbal Husain, 'A Calender of Khairabad Documents: 16th-19th Centuries' Islamic Culture Hyderabad (1979) ii,pp.

2. Khairabad-3; See also Iqbal Husain, op.cit.

was expected to offer the five daily prayers in congregation and to practice archery after midday prayers by discharging ten arrows. In addition, he was also to assist the 'āmil and shiqdār in the revenue realization and to fight against malefactors whenever called upon to do so by the officials for the purpose.[1] But the farmāns of the mughal emperors normally drop any such conditions from the grant. Instead we find Jahangir calling the madad-i ma'āsh holders as, 'Army of prayers' to him this was as important as the real army of the state.[2] As now the only duty which was expected from the grantees was one of mere lip service; to pray for the perpetuity and long life of the everlasting Empire.

E X T E N T:-

The Ain-e Akbari provides us rich statistical information regarding the revenue-alienated through suyūrghāl in the different parganas of the sūba of Awadh. An analysis of these data leads us to some interesting conclusions. In the five pargana of the various sarkār of sūba Awadh, where the caste of the zamindār is recorded as Muslim, the percentage oftotal naqdi alienated by way of suyūrghāl ranged from

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1. RAA-318 (1541 A.D.).
2. Tuzk-i-Jahangiri, p.5 Cf. Irfan Habib, Agrarian System, p. 310 & n.

0.49% to 12.60%. The pargana of Ibrahimabad in sarkār Awadh records a high percentage i.e. 23.30% of the total naqdi, but this seems to be an exception. In another six pargana where the Muslims alongwith the Hindus appear as zamindārs, the jama' alienated ranges from 1.78% to 18.49%. In 72 parganas of various sarkārs where the zamindārs happened to be Hindus only mostly Rajputs, these grants constituted between 0.03% to 18.74% of the total naqdi. The remaining 47 pargana, recorded no suyūrghāl grants at all. This included the pargana Anona, sarkar Awadh, where the zamindārs were chauhan Rajputs, newly converted to Islam.[1] In Awadh at least, the grantees appear to have been indifferent to the community of zamindārs while seeking grants.

In absolute terms, the total amount of the jama', alienated through such grants in C.1595 was only 4.5%, apparently not a very large amount. Butthe madad-i ma'āsh grants as a rule, were made out ofthe cultivable waste with the implicit purpose of making it cultivable (under the formula, zamin-e uftāda Laiq-e zirā'at, khārij-az jama') or at the most 1/3 of the total and at Later stages 1/2 of the total grant was made out of the cultivated land (mazrua).[2]

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1. See Table at the end of the Chapter.

2. Sher Shah divided mazrua and uftada equally (RAA-318). Akbar seems to have followed the same principle. In the reign of Jahangir we notice that the mazrua was reduced to 1/3, thus making uftada 2/3 of the total see RAA-1567, 1556. Subsequently we notice that those villages which had been abandoned by the zamindārs for want realization of the estimated jama were assigned to the grantees. See Aurangzeb's farmān to Muhammad Ashraf (19th R.Y.)in my paper PIHC, 1979 pp. 311-14.

It is to be remembered that the Āin's suyūrghāl figures represent only the loss of revenue to the state through such alienations, and not the actual income from the madad-i ma'āsh land. It might, on the other hand, have included the amount distributed through the cash allowances, but this is not clear.

With the coming of the nawāb-wazīrs at the heldm of the affairs, a few changes appear to have occurred in the state policy towards the madad-i ma'āsh holders. Owing to their Shi'ite leanings Imāmbāra and the Shia' divines came to be patronised quite liberally by the nawāb-wazīrs and their 'royal' successors. Correspondingly, in the beginning at least there was some containment or restriction of madad-i-ma'āsh grants given to other scholars and beneficiareis.

Ghulam Ali Azad Bilgrami indeed criticizes Burhanul Mulk Sa'adat Ali Khan and Safdarjung for resuming the cash and land-grants (wazā'if-o-suyurghālāt) of the old families, as a result of which, he says, Muslim learning suffered very heavily in both Awadh and Allahabad provinces. He does not himself attribute this explicitly to any sectarian motives on the part of the two Awadh rulers; and it is possible to argue that the motives were purely financial. The members of scholarly families had to take to the military profession

as a result of these measures, says Azad Bilgrami - a curious statement which suggests that a connection was always maintained between the grant-holders and the army.[1]

The 18th century records of the individual families, have not so far supplied any corroboration of Azad Bilgramis statement.[2] Still one can not reject it out of hand.

Our evidence shows that many grants, at least, were confirmed. We have the origional parwānas issued to the ʿāmils and the mutaṣṣadis of the different parganas of the ṣūba of Awadh and one pargana in suba Allahabad by Nawāb Ṣafdarjung.[3] A parwāna was issued to the ʿāmil of pargana Mahauli sarkār Gorakhpur stipulating that 700 bighas of land said to have been in madad-i maʿāsh grant of a moazzin (attached to the mosque of) Shah Badar Ashraf since the days of Akbar. But now it should be recognised only if the grantees possess the taṣhihnāma singed by the ṣadr (of Akbar's reign),

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1. Ghulam Ali Azad Bilgrami, Māthirul Kirām Vol.I, pp.221-22.

2. Nevill does records a tradition that all the grants of the Sabzposh family of Gorakhpur were resumed by the early nawabs, however, Later on they were restored to the family by Asafuddaulah, who also confessed the title of Sabzposh on the family. The establishment continued to flourish in much better condition after the area was ceaded to the English. Cf. HR Nevill, Gorakhpur Gazetteer, p.120.

3. Awadhi Lal, Inshā-e Manṣūr or Manṣūr-ul Maktūbāt, MS. Tagore Library.

otherwise the land should be included in the khālisa.[1] In another parwāna addressed to the ʿāmila of pargana kakori sarkār Lucknow, it was ordered that the madad-i maʿāsh grant of Muhammad Murad, which had been resumed earlier, should be restored to him. But before issuing the confirmatory orders the genuinness of the claims and the papers of the grantee should be scrutinized.[2] Another order was issued to Saiyyed Muzzaffar Mahani (probably a mutawalli) instructing him to restore the madad-i maʿāsh grants of a widow. The widow-grantee had been expelled from her possessions earlier.[3] Similarly one Raghunath Singh, who was the ʿāmil of mahāt Azamgarh was directed not to interfere with the madad-i maʿāsh villages in the possession of one Shaikh Ruh-ul-Amin in tappa Kadara having an annual jama' of Rs. 1327/-.[4] The officials of Sandilah were asked by the nawab in 1156/1743, not to interfere with the landed possession (ārāzi and dehāt both) of the aimmādārs in pargana, Sandilah and the grantees were to be allowed to enjoy the benefits of their grants.[5]

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1. Ibid., ff. 173b-174a.
2. Ibid., ff. 175b-176a.
3. Ibid., f. 182b.
4. Ibid., ff. 182b-183a.
5. NAI-1349 (1156/1743).

It appears that during the first half of the 18th century —— the days of laxity in the mughal administration —— quite a few grants were obtained by the fraudulent means and perhaps the nawāb-wazīrs tried to weed-out such grants and to confirm only the jeniun ones. On that account it was always insisted that a full inquiry be made into the credentials of the grantees and into the genuinness of the farmāns or the parwanas held by them. Only after this, were the confirmatory orders to be issued. A natural corollary of this exercize was that the grants were to be immediately forfeited in case of any suspicion. Perhaps to this extent Azad Bilgirami's allegations are true. But in general, as is evident from the above, no particular hostility was shown to the members of the old establishments.

Moreover, the history of the family of the mystics established at Salon traced at the end of this chapter also casts doubt on the allegation of Azad Bilgirami. It appears that the nawāb-wazīrs were fairly tolerent and liberal in giving additional favours to this establishment of the Sunni mystics. The 18th century saw the apex of their fortunes, as the bayāz of the family records that in C.1797 the total number of the villages and chaks included in the landed possessions of the family was 40 in all and yielded an annual

amount of Rs. 40,000; this was in addition to 15 jardens and a number of residential havelis.[1] The establishment continued to flourish throughout the period of Awadh kingdom as Butter (in C. 1837) and Sleeman (in C. 1849) have estimated the annual income of this, "eleemosynary establishment" as between Rs. 30,000 to Rs. 25,000.[2]

So far as shit'grants are concerned, the archival meterial is not very helpful in determining the extant and origion of such grants during the 18th and first half of the 19th centuries. The various District Gazetteers do not also lent any help to us inthis respect. The earliest reference in our records comes from 1195/1780 from pargana Sandilah when an entire village was granted to one Saiyyed Shah Hidayat Ali in order to meet the expenses of an Imāmbāra. The grant is however reported to have been an old one.[3] Besides there are a few parwāna preserved at National Archives of India concerning the land and cash grants in pargana, Sandilah for the purpose of the maintenance of Imāmbāra and meeting the expenses incurred in connection with 'azādāri.[4] But all

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1. This bayāz is a Ms. in nast'āliq script and in very good condition. It is in private custody of the present Sajjada nasheen of the Khanqāh. It has about 300 folios C.1797 (the date of the seal being 1212 A.H.).

2. Donald Butter, opicit., p.139; W.H.Sleeman, op.cit., Vol.I, p.279.

3. Allahabad documents No.52 (1195/1780).

these parwana date to corly 19th century and concern.Separate individuals as that no connected history can be constructed of any particular shite establishments.

Buchanan's survey of the district of Gorakhpur (ceded to the British in 1801) provides some interesting indications of the general policy persued by the nawab-wazirs in relation to the then existing religious establishments. We find, that all the old families were not only tolerated but received additional favours. Indeed Buchanan says, ".....nor is there any reason to think that the government of the nawab-wazirs was here at least in any degree intolerent, or gave any preference to those of their own religion.[1]

There existed an Imambara in the city of Gorakhpur, whose keeper was known as Miyan Saheb. A large endowment was attached with it. The history of this establishment is quite interesting. The ancestors of the family were said to have settled at Shahpur, pargana Dhuriapora in mid-18th century. One of the members of the family (the ancestor of Miyan Saheb) Shah Roshan Ali had adopted shism and had became a devotee of that cutt. He sought to establish an Imambara,

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1. Martin, op.cit., Vol.II, p.445.

and in this task was helped by nawab Asafuddaulah in the year 1790 A.D. A revenue free grant of 15 villages was bestowed upon him by the nawab for the maintenance and up-keep of the Imāmbāra Shah Roshan Ali was exceedingly reserved towards the infidels. He seldom resides in the Imāmbāra, but usually supports there from 15 to 20 faqirs, all unmarried, as he himself is. During the 10 days of the muharram these distribute daily from 25 to 30 mans (cash 113 9/10 lb.) of boiled rice and pulse (khichri) seasoned with butter, salt and spices and from 4 to 5 mans of sugar and malasses in sherbat.[1]" Shah Roshan Ali died in 1816 and was succeeded by his pupil Ahmad Ali Shah, who received the title of Miyan Saheb. Additional grants were made by the English for the 'loyal conduct' of the family during the course of the Meeting. Nevill has estimated their landed possession around c.1900 as consisting of 15 revenue-free villages, with a further 44 villages in tahsil Padrauna and 17 villages in tahsīl Gorakhpur.[2] The family has become Sunni, but continues to maintain an Imāmbāra.

Donald Butter, while discussing the problem of mendicity in the southern ports of Awadh kingdom,[3] says that there had

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1. Montgomery Martin, op.cit., Vol. II, p.349.
2. H.R.Nevill, op.cit., Vol. 31, pp. 119-20.
3. For this discussion see Butter, pp. 162-3.

been a great increase in the number of itinerant beggers as, "now, 100 ore being found in a town of 5000 inhabitants where formerly only one or two could be seen." This miserable state of affairs was probably caused due to the improverishment of the country as a result of the deficiency of the harvest. Little was done by the Government to meet this problem. On the other hand, the old eleemasynary institutions established at the various districts of the Awadh, carried over the work of charity. The keepers ofthe mystic establishment at Salon used to provide food and shelter to about 100 faqīrs daily. In Pachhimrath, existed a large endowment known as Bhadarsa having lands yielding Rs.15000 annually. The sum was distributed among the faqirs and bairagīs by its Saiyyed custodian.

A large Hindu establishment known as Hanumān Garhi in the city of Faizabad was patronized by nawāb Shujaʿ-ud-daulah and "continued in a flourishing condition upto the present time, unmodested by the chakledār or zamindār.[1]" It had a revenue-free grant of Rs. 50,000 and no Muslim was allowed to enter its premises. The estate was managed by the bairagīs, and only a moderate rent was levied per bigha. In the city of Ayodhya, there were two Hindu establishments of some importance i.e. Ram Parsad Khara, accupied by 200 to 250

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1. Butter, pp. 162-3.

bairagis and enjoy a revenue of Rs. 25,000. The other was at bindiya kund, having a total rent free grant of Rs.10,000 and the establishment about 200 bairagis.[1] A large yogi establishment at Gorakhnath had a rent-free land-grant consisting of three villages in entirety and three detached portions of villages. Martin tells us that, ".....from 200 to 250 people go every Tuesday to make offering; some of them are Muhammadans. There are besides two fairs (mela) on the Sivratri 10,000 and on the Dasehra of spring 4,000 assemble.[2]" Butter also observed that, "much charity is distributed bythe Brahmans out of the small allotment of the lands, granted to them for this purpose by the zamindars.[3]"

The autonomous chiefs, paying tribute to the government of nawab-wazirs,and the local zamindars continued to make grants of revenue-free lands on their own. The beneficiaries were mostly Brahmans, especially men of learning (Pandits) and physicians (baids). Butter informs us that, "In Salon and Partapgarh baids are found at every six or eight miles and are Brahmans of different denominations. They very frequently are supported by grants of land from rajas and other

1. Butter, pp. 162-3.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.

zamindārs, to the extent of from 20 to 400 bighas.[1]" Similarly Bennett while discussing the proprietary rights of the autonomus chiefs (rajās) remarks that the "second direct proprietory act was allotment of small parches of unculti-vated land chiefly to Brahmans.[2]" Grants were also made to astrologers as also family priests.[3] The education of the young among Hindus was almost entirely in the hands of the pandits, who were generally maintained by a "Gift of rent-free lands rarely exceeding hundred rupees in annual value from the zamindārs."[4] Such schools were established in the chaklās of Salon, Partapgarh and Aklacgunj. These schools were attended by from 50 to 100 boys and the zamindārs similarly granted "the pandits allotment which varies from 10 to 100 bighas of land.[5]"

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1. Butter, op.cit., p. 175.
2. Bennett, op.cit., p. 55.
3. Bennett, op.cit., p. 56.
4. Butter, op.cit., p. 165.
5. Butter, op.cit., p. 165.

TABLE I

Suyūrghāl in parganas having Muslim zamindāri

1 - Sarkār Awadh

i pargana	ii jama'	iii suyūrghāl	iv zamindār	% iii as to ii
1. Ibrahimabad	4,45,417	1,03,806	Ansari	23.30%
2. Inhauna	12,68,470	-	Chauhan Muslims.	-
3. Satrikh	11,26,295	92,695	Ansari	8.23%
4. Satinpur	16,60,740	1,09,787	i. Bais Muslim ii. Bachjoti iii. Joshi	6.61%
	45,00,922	3,06,288	6.80%	

2.- Gorakhpūr

1. Utraula	13,97,367	6,935	Afghan Mujanah	0.49%

3 - Bahraich

(No pargana having Muslim zamindārs, either exclusive owners or shareholders).

4 - Khairabād

(Same as in 3)

4 - Lucknow

1. Amethi	30,76,480	3,00,217	Ansari	9.75%
2. Vnam	20,12,372	2,53,747	Saiyids	12.60%

Contd.....

3. Sidhaur	16,92,281	3,13,022	i. Afghan sari ii. Rajput	18.49%
4. Bilgiram	51,24,113	3,56,892	i. Saiyids ii. Bais	6.96%
5. Fatehpur	31,61,440	2,61,440	i. Shaikhzada ii. Rajputs	8.26%
6. Lucknow Haveli	17,46,771	2,41,195	i. Shaikhzada ii. Zunnardar iii. Kayath (Brahmans)	13.8%
7. Manwi	7,71,372	13,767	i. Musalman ii Rajputs	1.78%
	1,75,84,829	17,40,280		9.89%

TABLE II

Suyūrghāl statistics in parganas having non-Muslim zamindārs

1 - Sarkār Awadh

i pargana	ii jama'	iii suyūrghāl	iv zamindār	v % of iii as to ii
1. Awadh Haveli	20,08,366	1,58,741	i. Zunnadar ii. Kumbi	7.90%
2. Ambodha	19,98,724	7,318	Bais	0.36%
3. Pachhim rath	42,47,104	38,885	i. Rajput ii. Bachheb iii. Ghelah	0.91%
4. Basodhi	5,05,473	1,505	Badhgotis	0.4%
5. Thana Bhaddon	4,27,509	36,172	Bachgohi	8.46%
6. Baktha	3,85,008	3,960	Bachgotis	1.02%
7. Dongabad	53,69,528	2,26,871	i. Rajputs ii. Chauhan iii. Raikwars	4.22%
8. Rudauli	32,48,299	2,49,083	i. Rajputs ii. Chauhans iii. Bais	7.66%
9. Sailuk	47,23,299	2,00,945	i. Rajputs ii. Raikwars	4.25%
10. Sultanpur	38,32,530	98,967	Bachgatis	2.58%
11. Subeha	16,09,293	87,200	Rajputs	5.41%
12. Sarwapati	12,01,835	47,107	Bachgati	0.42%
13. Gworich	37,73,417	3,782	Rankwar	0.10%
14. Kishni	13,39,286	1,23,847	Rajputs	9.24%

Contd......

Table II (Continued)

15.	Mangolsi	13,60,753	86,554	Sambansi	6.36%
16.	Naipur	3,08,788	2,940	Different castes.	0.95%
		3,63,37,212	13,77,877		3.79%

2 - Sarkār Gorakhpūr

1.	Unhaula	2,01,120	2,170	Basins	1.07%
2.	Dariyapore	15,17,078	567	Basins	0.03%
3.	Rehli	16,18,074	20,873	i. Rajputs ii. Basins	1.28%
4.	Gorakhpur Haveli	5,67,385	3,919	Sombansi	0.69%
5.	Maghor Ratanpur (2 m)	13,52,585	16,771	i. Bais ii. Basin	0.80%
		52,56,242	99,280		

3 - Sarkār Bahraich

1.	Bahraich Haveli	91,39,141	4,02,111	Rajput	4.39%
2.	Husampur	47,47,035	1,601	i. Raikwar ii. Bhali iii. Bais	0.03%
3.	Fakharpur	31,57,876	56,035	Raikwar	1.77%
4.	Firozabad	19,33,079	4,107	i. Rajputs ii. Tuner	0.21%
5.	Khoraunsa	13,15,051	2,628	Bais	0.19%
		2,02,42,182	1,06,482		5.24%

Contd....

4' - Sarkar Khairabad

1. Barwar Anjana	43,25,237	1,07,079	i. Rajputs ii. Zunnardar	2.47%
2. Biswa	35,45,643	1,47,916	i. Rajput ii. Bachheb	4.17%
3. Pali	18,49,270	37,945	Amin	2.05%
4. Bawan	11,61,255	26,488	Amin	2.28%
5. Basrah	2,76,066	4,566	Bacheh	1.65%
6. Chhitapur	17,65,641	41,094	i. Rajput ii. Gaur	2.32%
7. Khairabad Haveli	21,61,234	1,74,191	Zunnardar	8.05%
8. Sandi	30,55,339	1,95,166	Sombansi	0.15%
9. Sora	20,91,983	8,666	Chauhans	0.41%
10. Sadarpur	8,31,175	15,581	i. Bachheb ii. Janwars	1.87%
11. Gopamau	56,20,466	5,62,037	i. Rajput ii. Gaur	9.99%
12. Kheri	32,50,522	50,522	i. Rajput ii. Basin	1.55%
13. Laharpur	30,29,479	2,09,079	Zunnardar	6.90%
14. Machhechta	21,12,176	2,430	i. Rajputs ii. Bachhels	0.11%
15. Nimkher	35,66,055	66,055	Ahir	1.85%
16. Hargaon	2,00,000	26,385	Zunnardar	13.19%
	39,41,541	16,56,100		4.15%

5 - Sarkar Lucknow

1. Isauli	42,08,046	2,40,846	i. Rajput ii. Bachjoli	5.72%
2. Asiyun	8,30,625	63,421	i. Bais ii. Chandel	7.63%

Contd.....

3. Bangarmau	38,02,122	1,51,481	Ghelot	3.93%
4. Bijlaur	25,05,047	1,93,961	Chauhan	0.12%
5. Bari	12,84,799	51,560	Bais	0.24%
6. Nigawan	4,70,7[illegible]2	12,730	Bais	3.02%
7. Bhitawli	3,40,419	8,194	i. Rajputs ii. Jats	2.40%
8. Jhalotar	11,23,176	21,441	Chandels	1.90%
9. Dewi	19,33,837	1,74,207	Rajputs	9.00%
10. Ranhorpur	24,25,885	79,225	i. Zunnardar ii. Bais	3.26%
11. Sandila	1,06,23,901	8,37,245	i. Bachel ii. Ghetals	7.88%
12. Saipur	26,25,388	27,736	i. Rajputs ii. Chandels	1.05%
13. Sarosi	12,39,767	1,567	i. Rajputs ii. Chandels	0.12%
14. Satanpur	10,28,800	10,192	i. Bais ii. Zummardar	0.99%
15. Sihali	6,94,707	1,30,216	Rajputs	18.74%
16. Sisandi	3,92,313	13,792	Rajputs	3.51%
17. Sarwar	2,10,316	2,858	i. Rajputs ii. Kumbi	1.35%
18. Fatehpur Chaurasi	9,09,176	6,594	i. Rajput ii. Chandel	0.72%
19. Kursi	16,93,844	62,919	i. Jadwai ii. Rajputs	3.71%
20. Kakori	14,34,430	1,34,430	i. Rajputs ii. Basin	0.93%
21. Kashinda	4,30,596	44,060	Chandels	1.03%

Contd......

Table - II (Continued)

22.	Malihabad	44,79,250	1,20,545	Bais	0.37%
23.	Mallanwan	35,98,713	2,22,038	Bansi	6.16%
24.	Mohan	19,96,673	1,98,484	i. Rajputs ii. Bais	9.94%
25.	Mauranwan	16,98,444	14,806	i. Rajput ii. Bais	0.87%
26.	Mandiaon	11,36,613	32,900	Jawar Barkosla	2.89%
27.	Makraid	5,76,200	5,247	i. Rajput ii. Bais	0.91%
28.	Hadha	24,50,522	6,509	Bais	0.26%
29.	Hardoi	3,59,748	6,026	Zunnardar	1.67%
		5,34,54,089			

T A B L E - III

Pargana having no suyūrghāl grants

1 - Sarkār Awadh

i Parganah	ii naqdi	iii Zamindārs
1. Inhauna	12,68,470	Chauhan Muslims
2. Bihari	8,15,831	Bachgotis
	20,84,301	

2 - Gorakhpūr

1. Binnayakpur	6,00,000	i. Rajputs ii. Sombansis
2. Banbhanpora	4,14,194	Rajputs
3. Bhawpora	1,55,900	Basins
4. Tilpur	4,00,000	i. Rajputs ii. Sembansi
5. Chilnapora	2,89,302	Rajputs
6. Dewapora Kotla (2 M)	7,17,840	Basin
7. Rasulpur Ghasi (2 M)	6,22,030	Sombansi
8. Ramgarh Gheri (2 M)	4,85,943	Sombansis
9. Kalihla	40,000	Basins
10. Killapora	4,25,845	Bansi
11. Mahauli	6,18,206	Basins
12. Mandla	51,100	Not recorded
	42,20,360	

Contd.....

3 - Sarkār Bahraich

1.	Behra	37,135	Kuhna
2.	Dangdum	4,40,562	Janwars
3.	Raghot	1,66,780	Janwars
4.	Sinjauli	8,77,001	Rajputs & Janwars
5.	Sultanpur	1,66,001	Janwars
6.	Qila Nawagarh	21,40,858	Miscellaneous
		38,28,337	

4 - Sarkar Khairabād

1.	Barrah	9,86,077	Various castes
2.	Bharwara	4,35,430	Amin
3.	Paila	48,022	Amin
4.	Kherigarh	18,29,328	Bais, Basin, Bachhel & Kuhna
5.	Karkhaila	4,73,727	Amin
6.	Khunkhalmau	2,35,656	Various castes
		41,08,240	

5 - Sarkār Lucknow

1.	Asoha	5,90,901	Amin
2.	Unchgaon	4,17,957	Bais
3.	Bahrimau	5,91,409	Bais
4.	Pahhan	2,67,809	Bais

Contd......

5.	Porsandan	2,37,537	Rajputs & Kumbi
6.	Patan	2,14,256	Kumbi & Zunnardars
7.	Tora Singhaur	1,63,534	Zunnardars
8.	Deorakh	6,89,536	Bais
9.	Dadra	73,737	Rajputs
10.	Ramkot	2,68,099	Rajputs
11.	Sidhupur	5,05,018	Bais
12.	Garh Amethi	18,00,000	Rajputs, Bahmangatis
13.	Kahanjora	8,18,472	Bais
14.	Ghatampur	5,52,561	Zunnardar
15.	Gorinda	3,34,769	Zunnardar
16.	Kumbhi	2,67,809	Rajput & Bais
17.	Laskar	1,68,529	Bais
18.	Aihar	3,29,735	Bais
		81,91,658	

B - Revenue Grantees:

The numerous documents preserved in various archives and private collections offer us an opportunity to study the class of madad-i ma'ash grantees through detailed scrutiny of samples of its units. A number of families have been chosen for this survey, mainly with a view to finding out the main pre-occupation of the members of this class and the changes in their fortunes over time. Our records mainly concern succession and inheritance, sale ane mortgage of the madad-i ma'ash and other rights. Here and there, however, our subject is also illuminated by the narrative sources and recorded traditions.

(i) The mystic family at Salon:

The family of the mystics established at Salon claim to be Faruqi Shaikhs and to have come from Yemon whence their ancestors migrated to Nagor, the celebrated Qazi Hamid-uddin of Nagor belonging to this branch. The family is said to have migrated from Nagor to Jaunpur during the period of the Sharqi sultans. Makhdum Shaikh Addhan became a famous as a

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1. The families whose history has been reconstructed for the first time, by using the archival meterials and records, are the mystics established at Salon, the family of Saiyid Muhammad 'Arif at Bahraich, and the family of Qazi 'Imaduddin of Sandila, sarkar Lucknow.

sufi saint, and from him the family members acquired the name of Adhani. One of his descendants, Shaikh Abdul Nabi settled at Salon and here in the year 996 A.H./1578 Shaikh Pir Muhammad was born. After his early education, Pir Muhammad went to Manikpur for higher studies in theology and mysticism. He became a disciple of Shaikh Abdul Karim, the sajjada nashin of the dargah of Shaikh Husamul Haque.[1] After remaining there for quite sometime under his spiritual guidance and according to his instruction, Pir Muhammad returned to Salon and according to a later tradition took up his abode along with a sanyasi hermit.[2]

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1. Most of the 18th century chronicles and tazkirahs either ignore him or refer him in passing. This is obviously because of the fact that his grandson, Saiyid Sadullah of Salon got more prominence as a theologian and a sufi. In all his biographical notices, he is always referred as the grandson of Shaikh Pir Muhammad who in turn is called as the great theologian of his times. See Khafi Khan, Muntakhab-ul-Lubab, Bib.Ind. Calcutta, 1860-74, Vol.II, pp.559-60; Ghulam Ali Azad Bilgrami, Mathir-ul-Kiram, Hyderabad, 1913, Vol.I, p.217. For independent references to him see Muhammad Bukhtawar Khan, Mirat-ul-'Alam, Lahore, 1979, Vol.II, p.417; Saiyid Shah Ghulam Ali Shah, Mishkat-un Nubuwah' Ms., 1212 A.H., Mishkat-27 (I owe this reference to Dr.Sulaiman Siddiqi, Reader, Department of Islamic Studies, Osmania University, Hyderabad); A Gazetteer of the Province of Oudh, Vol.III, 1877, p.290, Shah Ahmad Husain Jafri, 'Hazrat Pir Muhammad Ki Hayat our ta'limat Unki malfuzat ki Roshni main' (Urdu) unpublished paper read at Khuda Bakhsh South Asian Regional Seminar on Significant Manuscripts of sufism, Aligarh session, March 1985.

2. Abdul Hai, Nuzhatul Khawatir, Vol.V, Hyderabad, 1911, pp. 97-8; H.R.Nevill, District Gazetteer of United Provinces, Vol.39, Allahabad, 1923, pp.100-103; Shah Hadi 'Ata, 'Qasba Salon ka Khandan-e Karimi' (Urdu)

Contd....

Shaikh Pir Muhammad soon became celebrated as a holy and pious man to merit the attention of the local officials. Emperor Aurangzeb, on being informed of his fame, asked him to pay a visit to Delhi, but the offer was politely refused. A late family text gives his reply as follows:[1]

> 'O Emperor, the protector of the religion. This servant finds no courage (to attend the royal summons) what can a rustic do at the royal court? If any one comes to my place, the doors are always open, but karim[2] made me dependent upon none, He provides me food when I feel hungry, if I am asleep, He cares, and if (per chance) some sin is committed by me, He helps me out. Hence His favours are sufficient for me and to strive for more will be a useless ambition.'

(Continued from the previous page)

Musannif Quarterly, Vol.XII, Aligarh, 1945 (iii) pp.78-80; see also my paper, 'Two madad-i ma'ash farmans of Aurangzeb from Awadh', PIHC (1979) pp. 302-14.

1. Shah Panah 'Ata, Rauzat-ul Arwah, Ms. private collection 1838, f. 248.

2. It is one of the chief attributes of God. Here also it is used in the same sense, but the fact that the name of his spiritual preceptor was 'Abdul Karim, symbolises the double meaning of the word.

It is said that on receipt of this letter, the emperor issued a farmān on 5th Shawal 19th R.Y./1086/1676 recognising the land rights of Shaikh Pir Muhammad over 200 bighas in the village Mirzapur Bakhtiyar.[1]

The history of the land rights of these mystics begin with this imperial grant and a closer scrutiny of this document leads us to some interesting results. First of all this grant was not situated in an aimma village, but in a jāgīr territory.[2] The previous authorities (hukkām) (presumably the jāgīrdārs) of the area had already offered 200 bigha of (waste land to the grantee) and the imperial farmān was issued to confirm the same, so that the grantee might not be harrassed by the future jāgīrdārs or any of his

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1. See the translation of the text as well as the zimn in Appendix A of my paper in PIHC (1979), pp. 302-14.

2. Akbar in his 24th R.Y./1578 had issued a farman by which he had concentrated all the existing grants in certain villages, and ordered that all the new grants should also be made from the lands of these villages. By this measure, the land rights of the grantees were protected from encroachments by the officials of the jāgīrdārs and of the Khālisa Sharifa, RAA-24; Akbar Nāmah, Vol. III, p.240.

servants.[1] Secondly, the words, 'an offering to the servants of one knowing mystic truths' (nazr-i khādimān-i haqāiq-i ma'ārif agāh) which occur in the main body of the farmān as well as zimn, show that the grantee was held in high esteem by the Emperor.

In the lifetime of Shaikh Pir Muhammad, Emperor Aurangzeb issued another farmān to his son Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf, in 22nd R.Y./1679.[2] This farmān too is in many ways quite interesting. First of all, unlike, the usual madad-i ma'āsh grants, it mentions the total jama', and not the area, of the grant,[3] secondly, it confers an entire village

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1. Since a jāgirdār could assign a grant only for his term of assignment, which was of a few years duration, the new jāgirdār might or might not respect the order of his predecessor. So this class of grantees lived in the greatest insecurity. They were therefore, always anxious to obtain the confirmation of such assignments from the court ~~of~~ to escape eviction by a future jāgirdār. Irfan Habib, Agrarian System, pp. 315-6.

2. See the translation of the text as well as the zimn in Appendix '3' of my paper in PIHC (1979) pp. 302-14.

3. All the madad-i ma'āsh grants were, as a rule, made in terms of definite area stated in bigha. However, there are some exceptions which has been pointed out by Irfan Habib, but all such farmāns relate to other areas of the Mughal empire. For the province of Awadh this is the only reference I could locate. Irfan Habib, Agrarian System, p. 301.

in grant. The *zimn* furthermore gives the *hasil* figures from the 4th R.Y. to 17th R.Y. (which is again unusual), and it contains a recitation to the effect that the grantee had previously settled in the village with the consent (*ba-razamandi*) of the *zamindars*. This seems to imply that the *zamindars* had been unable to meet the revenue demand and so transferred their rights to Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf, who now sought tax exemption from the authorities by way of *madad-i ma'ash*. The village had been nearly abandoned, and its revenue paying capacity greatly reduced, as the figures which appear on the *zimn* of the *farman* show.

The fact that here the grantee was also the *zamindar* of the area, might explain yet another feature of the grant, viz. its assignment to the grantee in absolute perpetuity, 'generations after generation and for all time to come' (*naslan-bad naslan wa batnan bad batnan*). This is interesting since it was only in 34th R.Y./1690, that Aurangzeb made all the *madad-i ma'ash* grants hereditory by issuing a general *farman*,[1] whereas our *farman* was issued much before this measure, i.e. 22nd R.Y./1679 A.D.

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1. *RAA-1380*.

Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf was granted the revenues of village Singawal (now renamed Ashraf Gunj). His young age might explain, as to why no spiritual titles are prefixed to his name, contrary to the respectful address used for his father.

Subsequent to these grants, Aurangzeb is said to have assigned the revenues of the village Palhipur to Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf in 1109/1697 as the news-writer (waqai-i Navis) of the province informed the court that the present income of Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf was not sufficient to meet his expenses. Probably on similar considerations, Emperor Bahadur Shah too assigned the revenues of village Kishandaspur to him in 1119/1707.[1]

In addition to these grants, it appears that Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf came to possess superior land rights in a number of villages and localities (chaks) in sarkar Manikpur, suba Allahabad as well as in sarkar Lucknow suba Awadh. But unfortunately we lack details of these acquisitions. We,

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1. I have not been able to locate and examine the two farmans however, these farmans have been referred in Mr. Wood's despatch No. 507 dated 13 July 1861 (from Deputy Commissioner of Partapgarh to the Commissioner and superintendent of Bainswara division). File No. 1870/1331 (Rae Bareli district) Board of Revenue Lucknow.

however, possess an original farman of emperor Muhammad Shah issued in 10th R.Y./1729 in favour of Shaikh Ashraf. The text of the farman carries a recitation in favour of the grantee confirming all his possessions in sarkar Manikpur and sarkar Lucknow, inclusive of plots of residential and cultivated land, villages and chaks. All the official, present and future, were directed not to interfere with these possessions.[1]

Apart from these early grants the family possessions were enlarged quite considerably by the local potentates. All such grants were later on confirmed by Emperor Shah Alam in 1175/1761. Fortunately we possess a number of wajib-ul arz documents of the villages. These papers record the nature of the land-rights and the traditional account of the land-holding classes of the villages. These wazib_ul arz (petitions regarding the claims and the titles) were made part of the first regular settlement conducted in Awadh after 1860.

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1. I have not been able to examine the contents of this farman, because of it is under the private custody of the family members of Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf who now reside in Pakistan. But a photographic reproduction (obsuse side) of the farman appears in Shah Hasan 'Ala, Harir_e Sang, Nafees Academy, Karachi, 1963, p.119.

Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf nominated his son Muhammad Panah to succeed him as Sajjada Nashin of the Khanqah. He was allotted two tracts of forest land by the ta'alluqādār of Bhadri (styled as Raja) for the specific purpose of maintenance of the khanqāh. The grantee was permitted to cut down forest and get it inhabited by the members of peasant castes (perticularly kurmis). One tract of the forest land was named Panah Nagar, while the another was named Hayāt Nagar (after the name of his deceased brother Muhammad Hayat). Simiarly the Kanhpur ta'alluqādārs of Tilain, Raja Balbhadra Singh granted the revenues of the entire villages, Dhankesra and Barwalia, to the establishment for the purpose of the maintaining mosques khanqāh and other buildings.[1]

The period of Shah Karim 'Ata (the 4th sajjada nashin of the khanqāh) marks the watershed in the history of this family. He received the grant of the forested area from the ta'alluqādārs of kondrajit. The purpose of the grant was to provide for the upkeep of the khanqāh and for the expenses of the visitors to the khanqāh. The forested area was brought under cultivation. Kurmi being settled there and a village named karimnagar (after the name of the founder) brought into existence.[2]

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1. See Wājibul-arz of villages Panah Nagar, Hayāt Nagar, Thankesra and Barwalia in present pargana Salon Distt. Rae Bareli. (pera IV)
2. Wājibul-arz of village Karimnagar, pargana Salon. Distt. Rae Bareli (see pera IV).

Emperor Shah Alam II is said to have had great respect for Shah Muhammad Panah. He paid a visit to his khanqah. Here Shah Panah requested the emperor for a confirmatory ~~fax~~ farman of the grants he held. He was ordered by the emperor to submit a full list of the villages held by him in ma'afi along with the copies of the farmans in his possession.[1] In the 6th R.Y./1183 when Emperor held his darbar at Allahabad, the new farman was issued in favour of Shah Karim Ata, son of Shah Panah. The zimn of the farman contained a recitation in favour of all the villages, chaks, gardens and havelis possessed by Shah Panah. The farman was issued during the wizarat of nawab Safdar Jung.[2]

In addition, a revenue-free grant of twelve villages was bestowed upon him by Nawab Asafud-daulah. Earlier these villages, "belonged to a family of Kanhpuria Rajputs, who were ousted for contumacy or rebellion."[3] We are also told that the Nawab paid a visit to the mystic at Salon.[4]

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1. For a full history of the landed possessions and the imperial favours, see letter No.504 dated 13th July 1861 from Mr.W.C.Wood, the deputy commissioner of Partabgarh to the commissioner of Bainswara division. Board of Revenue Lucknow 173/1861-2.

2. Imperial farman of Shah 'Alam dated 15th safar 6th R.Y./ 1183 A.H. (private custody).

d [3. Wajib-u-arz of village Karim Nagar pargana Salon Distt. Rae Bareli.

3. Sleeman, W.H., op.cit., Vol.II, pp.

4- letter no. 504 dt 13th July, 1861 (W.C. Wood's dispatch) op.cit

We are fortunate in having a complete list of the landed and urban possessions of Shah Karim Ata.[1] It appears that within a span of a century or so this family had acquired a number of villages under various denominations such as waqf, madad-i ma'āsh zamindāri and lambardari? rights. Although the details of all such acquisitions are missing, still one can not rule out the possibility of purchase in some cases. The villagewise details of Shah Karim Ata's family possessions are given in appendix 'C' of this section. The abstract of the total figures is as follows:

Nature of the possession	No. of villages/ chaks	Revenue realization in Rs.
i. Waqf	23	Rs. 25,000
ii. madad-i ma'āsh with zamindāri	19	Rs. 8,000
iii. Lambardāri with zamindāri	8	Rs. 7,000
Total	45	Rs. 40,000

In addition to these landed possessions, there were 15 orchards (baghāt) a number of Havelis and other residential

1. This list is appended at the end of a bayāz (Ms. in private custody). The bayāz belonged to Shah Ashraf Ata and the year on his seal in 1212/1797.

buildings, situated in Salon proper and other ma'āfi villages under his possessions.

An attempt was made by Shah Karim Ata to divide all this possessions among the three sons equally, reserving only one village for the maintenance of his two daughters in 1823. But the partition had to be annulled as a result of the death of his eldest son Shah Ashraf Ata in his life time.[1] The resultant new scheme of the partition provided that one half of the entire landed property was to be handed over to Shah Panah ʿAta, who was also nominated as the fifth Sajjada-Nashin of the khanqah by his father Shah Karim ʿAta. He was to look after all the charities connected with the khanqah, the maintenance of all the buildings and the running of the religious school. The remaining half of the property was equally divided between his son Shah Ghafūr ʿAta and his grandson Shah Ahsan Ata (whose father Shah Ashraf ʿAta had predeceased Shah Karim ʿAta). The position of the one village that had been left for his daughters remained unaltered. This scheme of division of ma'āfi lands was ractified by the court of Lucknow, hence putting a final confirmatory seal on the waqf property in the hands of the successors of Shah Karim Ata.[2]

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1. The hiba-namāh executed by in favour of Shah Ashraf Ata by Shah Karim Ata dated 11th Zilhij 1238/1822.

2. H.R.Nevill, op.cit., pp. 100-103.

Donald Butter gives a detailed account of this establishment in 1837.[1] He says that the original proprietors of the town of Salon were the Kanhpuria Rajputs, who were deprived of their estate in Salon *khāṣ* by Nawab Axf Asafuddaulah and it was bestowed upon the ancestors of the family of Shah Karim ʿĀtā in *jāgīr* for the perpetual support of the religious "eleemasynary" or charitable establishment.

The establishment seems to have been the largest of its kind in the southern parts of the kingdom of Awadh. The annual income was estimated by Butter as at Rs. 30,000/-, all of which was utilized in entertaining *bairāgis* and *faqīrs* without making any distinction of religion. The visitors use to flack to the *khanqāh* in quite large number and at a time there might happen to be about 100 mendicants. These were attended to and looked after by the *sajjada-nashin* of the *khanqāh*. The head of the institution (*sajjada-nashin*) was kept in high esteem by the local officials. His reputation is said to have been such that whenever the *chakledār* came Salon, he always paid a visit to the mystic and offered him a few hundred rupees.[2]

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1. Although the book was first published in 1839 from Calcutta, but the data were collected in 1837. Butter, *op.cit.*, pp. 138-9.

2. *Ibid.*

The keeper of the establishment did not have any sympathy for the religious zeal of the wahabis under saiyyed Ahmad of Barek. He was told by the zamindari of the area and the sajjada-nashin that they considered aiding the poor and lame and the blind as more pious than indulging in holy war. Similarly they refused to abandon the ceremonies of associated with muharram.[1]

W.H.Sleeman, while undertaking the tour in the kingdom of Oudh (1849-50) refers to this Salon establishment as the prime mystic institution of the kingdom.[2] Shah Panah Ata, the then sajjada-nashin of the khanqah was looked-upon with great reverence by both Muslims and Hindus for the sanctity of his ancestors and the institution. He did not go out of the khanqah but remained there to receive the homage and distribute food to the needy travellors of all religions. Sleeman estimated the annual income from the grant held by him in 1850 at about Rs. 25,000. This amount was utilized by him in meeting the expenses of his family and the needy.

An untoward incident is said to have occured in the fortunes of the family. In 1834 the head was plundered of all his belongings valued at Rs. 25,000 by the nazim of

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1. Ibid., p. 164-5.

2. W.H.Sleeman, op.cit.

Bainswara division, Ehsan Husain. The nāzim was the son of the powerful minister of the kingdom of Awadh, Subhān ʿAli Khan. Curiously enough the episode has not been mentioned by Donald Butter (C. 1836). Similarly the record of the family papers are also silent over the issue.[1]

In addition to the income from the revenue free-grants assigned by the Awadh rulers, but the local authorities as well as the princes in the remote parts such as Bhopal and Seronge made quite substantial offerings. This way the actual income of the establishment was calculated as to amount about 5,000 rupees a year. The complimentary letters were sent to 'Shah Puna Ata' by the Governor General of India, Lieutenant Governors of the N.W.Provinces and their secretaries, and from the residents at the Court of Lucknow. When W.H.Sleeman was passing through the district of Salon, 'Shah Puna ʿAta' sent him "letter of compliments and welcome with a present of a tame antelope, and some fruits and sugar". This goodwill gesture was reciprocated by Sleeman, who got the impression that "his character is held in high esteem by all classes of the people, of whatever creed, caste or grade."[2]

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1. Compare the account of Donald Butter, op.cit.
2. Sleeman, op.cit., pp.131-2. Not only this, but the mughal princes as well wrote complimentary letters to these mystics and few of them have been published from the collections like Ashraf-ul-inshā and Muntakhab-ʿāt-e-Saʿeedi; See Shah Hadi Ata, 'Muntakhabāt-e-Saʿeedʿ Ka bāb dūm' (second chapter of Muntakhab-Saʿeed) Musannif (Urdu) quarterly journal of Majlis-e-Musannifin Aligarh, Vol.I, 1946, pp. 114-119.

An interesting aspect of the history of this family is the rule of succession that was followed.[1] According to the Rawaj-e ʿām document of 1861, attested by many zamindārs of the area, the property of a sajjada-nashin was inherited in the following manner:-

a. The lawful heir and the legal representative of the sajjada-nashin could only be a sajjada-nashin. The latter was to be nominated by the previous sajjada-nashin in his life time by observing certain customary ceremonies in a presdribed manner.

b. All other natural heirs of the sajjada-nashin including his widow, were not entitled for any share in the property of the deceased. The sons could claim only a subsistance allowance known as guzāra, while the widow and unmarried daughters of the deceased were to be looked after by the future incumbent to the office of the sajjada-nashin.

c. The sajjada-nashin was only a custodian of the property either held in waqf or ma'āfi and thus was not empowered to affect any change by way of sale or mortgage or by oral gift (hiba').

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1. The practice still continues Maulana Shah Ahmad Husain Jafri, the present Sajjada Nashīn of the Khanqah, claims to have been nominated to the said post by his father late Shah Mohammad Husain Jagri, the IX Sajjada nashīn, strictly according to the provisions of the Rawaj-e ʿĀm. The said claim has been upheld by the Hon'ble High Court

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A close scrutiny ofthe above provisions of the family Rawaj-i 'ām, with the help of the records of the Board of revenue and the litigation, suggests that on a number of occasions the ma'āfi and waqf villages were in fact transfered to the family members in full proprietary rights,[1] thus the customary law was infact violated.

After the annexation of Awadh an enquiry was instituted to examine the credentials of these grantees. Major Barrow was appointed to conduct it, the then grantee Shah Husain Ata deposited 31 farmāns, parwānas and sanads with the district authorities on 15th June 1856 and obtained a receipt for them. But all these documents were destroyed during the mutiny. The second enquiry could start only after the suppression of mutiny. On the spot enquiry of each and every village was made to ascertain the grantees claim. The details of the enquiry conducted by W.C. Wood, now forms a historical narrative giving the family history, the details of the

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(Continued from the previous page)

of Allahabad (Lucknow Bench) in writ petition No.1682/1982, Shabbir 'Ata Vs. District Judge, Lucknow, and others, decided on 12 July 1984 (Hon'ble R.C.Deo Sharma,J.) A.C.D. 1984, pp 281-90

1. Iqrār namah executed by Shah Karim 'Ata in favour of his eldest son Shah Ashraf 'Ata dated 11th Zilhij 1238 A.H./1822; Iqrār-nāmah executed by Shah Karim 'Ata in favour of his son Shah Panah 'Ata dated 6th Jamad I 1248 A.H./1832. (Private Collection).

income and expenditure and the status of these grants.[1] On the basis of this enquiry Lord Canning issued a sanad to Shah Husain 'Ata on 26.9.1862 recognising his allodial rights over the 22 villages of his possession. The confirmation was made upon the condition that it was to continue so long as the income was devoted to the maintenance of the khangāh buildings, tombs, mosques, running of a school of 'Muhammadan Education' and continuous of the charities as detailed in the sanad.[2]

The history of the family till the time of annexation brings out many interesting points. At the beginning Shaikh Pir Muhammad was assigned 200 bigha of cultivable waste in 1676 A.D. But in the 18th century after a number of imperial grants and many other favours by the local chiefs, the establishment came to possess a large number of villages and other urban properties. They continued to enjoy this position during the first half of the 19th century as the nawāb wazīrs and their successors too have been quite liberal in making additions and favours to these mystics. It was on

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1. Copy of the letter No.504 dated 13th July 1861 from deputy Commissioner of partapgarh to Commissioner and Superintendent Baiswara division, Board of Revenue Lucknow (Rae Bareli) 173/1861-2.

2. Justice Saiyyed Mahmood's memorandum on the affairs of Waqf Salon 1884.

this account that Butter said that although they call themselves "a fakir, though the mālik (proprietor) of Salon."[1]

(ii) Sayyid Muhammad 'Ārif's family, Bahraich:

The parwana, sale-deeds and ijara papers preserved at Regional Archives, Allahabad relating to the family of Sayyid Muhammad Arif of sarkār Bahraich offer an opportunity of studying how the possession of madad-i ma'āsh rights could be intermixed with a number of other landed rights, such as zamindāri and ijāradāri. The family, indeed, had such interests in no less than five parganas, viz. Haveli, Bahraich, Hisampūr, Fakharpūr, Firozabād and Silak.

If we go by the surviving record, the landed interests of the family originated with a madad-i-ma'āsh grant by Akbar in 983/1575 to one Sayyid Muhammad, the ancestor of Saiyid Muhammad 'Arif.[2] However it is difficult to reconstruct a genealogy owing to lacunae in our documentary evidence.[3]

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1. Butter, op.cit., p. 139.

2. No farmān of Akbar of 983/1575 regarding this madad-i-ma'āsh grant could be traced. However, a recitation is always made of this grant in every subsequent parwāna issued from the time of Jahangir to Aurangzeb. The early history of Sayyid 'Arif's family could be traced out with the help of these parwānas.

3. Since we get hardly three names between a period of about hundred years.

assigned 470 bigha land in the village Hasnahra, pargana Haveli Bahraich on 2nd shawwal 983/1575.[1] Another grant of 400 bigha from village Panyanbari of the same pargana was bestowed on him on 24th shawwal 983/1575.[2] It seems that the area of this grant was further raised to 534 bigha 8 biswa during Akbar's time.[3] The revenues of the villages Sahinda and panyanhari were assigned to another member of the family, Saiyid Ziauddin, by order of Akbar and Jahangir. This grant was confirmed by a parwana issued on 17th Ramzan 1028/1618, in favour of Sayyid Ziaullah and others.[4] It is of some interest that this parwana bears a small seal of one Neku, styled as banda-e 'Ulya' Nūr Jahans the famous Queen of Jahangir.

In pargana Fakharpūr too Sayyid Muhammad was granted 40 bigha land on 19th Ramzan 983/1575. The grant was confirmed in favour of Mir Sayyid Muhammad 'Arif on 11th Muharram

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1. RAA-939 (1096/1684).

2. RAA-897 (1080/1669), 866 (1081/1670), 860 (1074/1663), 864 (1079/1668) and 284 (issued in the reign of Aurangzeb).

3. RAA-853 (1059/1649).

4. RAA-849 (1028/1618). In a petition by Sayyid 'Arif (RAA-1307, 1107/1695) the name of Sayyid Ziauddin figures prominently and 'Arif claims to have inherited some property from Sayyid Ziauddin.

1074/1666. But now it consisted of only 35 *bigha* and *biswa* 12 after the usual deduction known as *qusur-i Gaz-i Ilahi*.[1] In 1079/1668 Muhammad 'Arif was granted in *hiba* (i.e. free transfer) the *bist* (tax-free grant) rights, designated *milkiyat*, *zamindari* and *chaudharai*, over the village Damodarjot, *pargana* Firozabad, the granter was Prabhu, who styles himself the *zamindar* and *chaudhari* of that village.[2]

The *zamindari* rights purchased by Muhammad 'Arif were mostly situated in *pargana* Hisampur. The villages purchased by him from time to time were the Pasanjat group of villages, Debidaspur and Inchapur. All these transactions took place between the years 1672 to 1688. Previously these villages were in the *zamindari* possessions of Brahman, Rajputs and Khattris.[3] The various amounts in consideration of which these rights were purchased by Sayyid Ahmad and Sayyid Arif help us to understand the level of *zamindari* prices

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1. RAA-861 (1096-1684).

2. RAA-1271 (1079/1668). It is of some interest that when a free transfer of rights is made by a Hindu *zamindar* to a Muslim, both words, *hiba* and *birt*, are employed.

3. Sale-deeds for Pasanjat (named as 'Arifpur) are RAA-1275 (1083/1672), 1301 (1099/1687), 1300 (1099/1687), 1303 (110/1688); for Debidaspur (named as Ahmadpur) see RAA-1245 (1092/1681), 1294 (1094/1682); for Inchapur (named as 'Alipur) see RAA-1284 (1088/1677).

prevalent in the area.[1]

TABLE

Villages	Year of transaction	Share of the village sold	amount
1. Pasanjat group	1083/1672	1/3rd	Rs. 405/-
	1099/1687	1/18th	Rs. 57/-
	1099/1687	1/9th	Rs. 127/-
	1100/1688	1/18th	Rs. 61/-
2. Debidaspur	1092/1681	1/3rd	Rs. 54/-
	1094/1683	2/3rd	Rs. 121/-
3. Inchapur	1088/1677	1/4th	Rs. 32/-

A statement of facts submitted by Sayyid Muhammad Arif and attested by three witnesses describes yet another incident. By this time the name of Pasanjat had been changed to 'Arifpur. The village was attacked by the men of Sayyid 'Abdullah of Bahraich joined by certain Hindu residents of four villages and by the servants of one Sayyid Ghulam Mxhx Muhiuddin of Jarwal. Plundering and destroyed the property

1. The revenue figures of the villages in question are not are not available to us for the years when they were purdhased, hence no comparision of the income of zamindār with actual revenue could be made. Only the price rise phenomena could be illustrated with the help of these figures. See Irfan Habib, Agrarian System, pp.150-2.

of the petitioner, they expelled his men, and beat up and took captive the village headman Kaisv whom they released only on a payment of Rs.10/- as ransom. They had now been turned out by the agents of the jagirdar, but Sayyid Arif had not recovered any of the property that he had lost.[1]

Saiyid Arif and Saiyid Ahmad possessed zamindari rights of villages Kapura and Samanpur, pargana Silak.[2] But it appears that in both these places, their position was not secure as the local zamindars constantly interferred with their possession and harassed their agents. It was only with the help of the local authorities that their rights and possessions were protected.[3] Other disputes are also recorded. In pargana Fakharpur, Sayyid 'Arif, Sayyid Ahmad and Sayyid Ghayas had inherited 5/6th portion of the village Katurah. Their title was disputed by the local qazis. Hence a parwana was issued in 1087/1676 recognising their claim.[4]

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1. RAA-1304 (1100/1688). The petition is attested by only three witnesses, while probably one among them had affixed his seal too.

2. In Ain-e Akbari the pargana of Silak has been recorded within sarkar Awadh, but these documents place it under sarkar Bahraich. Such adjustment might have taken place for administrative considerations. See RAA-936 (6th Shaban 20th R.Y./1687).

3. RAA-936 (20th R.Y./1679).

4. RAA-99 (1087/1676).

Apart from these land rights held by 'Arif by way of madad-i-ma'ash and zamindari, he contracted to collect the revenues for a number of jagirdars, who held their tankhwah jagir in pargana Hisampur. These involved the farmer in further disputes with local zamindars. For example, when Sayyid 'Arif held in revenue farm the jagir of Sher Khan in the 20th R.Y. of Aurangzeb/1678 'Arif presented a petition that when, during the term of his revenue contract his men had gone to collect land-revenue from the village Korsama, they were chased out by the zamindars of Bhonjiri, pargana Silak. The zamindars looted and destroyed the claimed share of the crop amounting to 2500 mounds.[1]

The ijara documents also let us have a glimpse into the relations of the farmer with the jagirdar. Between the year 1079 'amils/1671 and 1098 'amils/1685 Sayyid 'Arif contracted to collect the revenue for 4 jagirs situated in pargana Hisampur. In 1079 'amli he took on ijara, a haftmaha' (7-monthly') jagir of the value of 1,32,800 dam. He had to pay Rs. 1934/- bil-muqta (fixed) to Murtaza Khan and Darya Khan, the jagirdar. A farigh-ul Khati executed jointly by the jagirdars states that the entire amount due to them had been paid, except for Rs. 374/12 anna which had

1. RAA-950 (17th R.Y./1675).

been withheld by the farmer on account of kotal karori,[1] (perquisites(?) of the karori or Revenue Collector) accounts for which were due. A subsequent parwana of Darya Khan addressed to the officials, village headmen and the peasants (muzari'ān) stipulates that Sayyid 'Arif continued to be the ijārādār of his portion of the said jāgir and 'Abdul Baqi, who had gone there pretending to be the ijārādār had nothing to do with the affairs of that jāgir.[2] Again in the year 1080 'amli 'Arif contracted for another tankhwāh jāgir held by Dervesh Beg, Miyan Ilahdad Khan and Muhammad Zaman. Although the total jama' of this jāgir was 4,40,000 dām, but because of it was 8-monthly (hasht-maha) the ijārādār had to pay Rs. 7333/4 anna[3] in two equal instalments. A receipt issued by Dervesh Beg stipulates that 'Arif had paid him Rs. 1833/5 anna of his share as an advance.[4] Still another qaūl-o-qarār (agreement) executed in 1081 'amli mentions that Mir Abu Turab, the mansabdār leased out a part of his tankhwāh jāgir carrying a jama' of 2,10,000 dāms to Sayyid 'Arif. Since the jāgir was of 7-month-7 days', the ijārādār had to pay Rs. 3162/- after a deduction of Rs. 312/-

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1. Allahabad-887.
2. RAA-867.
3. Allahabad-885.
4. Allahabad-886.

on account of the nankār and muqqaddam, perquisites. The jāgirdār was thus to get Rs. 2850/- in two equal instalment.[1] By another qaul-o-qarār executed in 1093 'amli by Khudadad Khan leased out his jāgir of village Bandausa to Sayyid Muhammad 'Arif who was the mālik and ta'alluqādār of the said village on a fixed amount of Rs. 425/-.[2]

Sayyid 'Arif also acted as the wakīl of dīwan Khudādād Khan at the impdrial court. This implies that for some time 'Arif even left his locality to go to the imperial headquarters at some unspecified time in Aurangzeb's time. One document concerning his dispute with his patron shed important light on this aspect has been translated and appended as 'A' in Section 'B'. Chapter VIII. Suffice it to say, his accounts were subjected to rejorous serutiny on the termination of his term as the wakīl.[3]

No further documents are available to enable us to trace the history of this family till modern times. Nevill's Gazetteer of Bahraich district is also silent about this family.

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1. Allahabad-884.
2. Allahabad-897.
3. Allahabad-896 and 1232.

(iii) Qazi 'Imaduddin's family, Sandila:

Some documents in the acquired collection at the National Archives enable us to study the ecclesiastical offices and the land grants held by a family of qazis of pargana Sandila during the reigns of Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb. Shaikh Mubarak, the father of Shaikh 'Imaduddin acted as the qazi, muhtasib and nirkh-navis of the pargana Sandila and its environs. These offices passed on to Shaikh 'Imad-uddin after the death of his father. In remuneration for their discharging the duties, a number of villages and other land grants by way of madad-i ma'ash were made over to them. Still some other grants made to them were either on account of some public benefit which arose there from or were absolutely unconditional and unrelated to any obligation.

As a grant attached to the office of qazi Shaikh Mubarak held, in madad-i-ma'ash, 200 bigha in village Todakpur and 100 bigha in village Kasmandi in pargana Sandila. Presumably, his son Qazi 'Imad-uddin had inherited the title as well as the land grants some times around 1645.[1]

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1. NAI-1382 (1081 A.H./1670). The document describes how Qazi 'Imaduddin came to posses the title and superior land rights by way of madad-i ma'ash. However, Qazi 'Imad was discharging his duties as early as 1645. I have been able to locate one sale-deed attested under his seal of that year (Allahabad-464 4 Safar 1055/1645).

He continued to work for a long time in that capacity until 1700 A.D. He was succeeded by his son Shaikh Sharafuddin as the qazi of pargana Sandila in that year. Thereafter the family disappears from the documents.[1]

The office of the muhtasib (Censor of Morals) and nirkh-nawis (price-reporter) appear attached to the office of the qazi, first of all, in the farman of Aurangzeb issued in favour of Shaikh 'Imaduddin on 11th Rajab 1091/1680. The duties connected with these offices too have been listed. These included the delivering of judgments in matters of disputes and distribution of the (legal) shares among the heirs of the deseased, attestation of the chaknama (demarcation papers) and other documents of legal nature, inducing the people to offer the prayers and to follow the religious injunctions, award of punishments, holding of the Friday and other congregational prayers; keeping an eye over the drunkards, miscreants and other bad characters; fixing the prices of essential commodaties, standardization of the weights and measures, and despatching the roznamcha (daily reports) containing a summary of the prices to the (imperial court?).[2]

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1. It seems that some Shahabuddin had disputed the claim of Shaikh Sharafuddin, but the sadar upheld the title of later, NAI-1410.

2. NAI-1434 (1091/1681). After Qazi 'Imaduddin, one Ahmad Beg was appointed qazi. His connection with Imaduddin's

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Land_grants held by the members of the family reveal interesting features. Qazi 'Imaduddin held an annual wazifa of Rs. 270/-, but sometimes afterwards the cash-grant was converted into a land-grant, and village Maner, pargana Sandila with a total jama' of Rs.203/- was assigned to him by way of madad-i ma'ash grant. This grant was confirmed on 13th safar 14th R.Y./1671.[1] The previous officials (mutassadis) of the jagirdars and khalisa-i Sharifa' had in addition made over the revenues of the villages Siya Mao and Maner, pargana Sandilah to Shaikh 'Imaduddin. This was confirmed by a parwana of 16th Rabi I 16th R.Y./1084/1673.[2] Again, we find him receiving 200 bighas as madad-i ma'ash from village Mahsona. But in case of this grant a condition was imposed that the grantee was to continue in service (khidmat) and was not to realize taxes like mehrana and nikahana.[3] Another sanad of 15th Shawwal 22nd R.Y./1680

(Continued from the previous page)

family is not established. He was for some reason removed, and a farman was issued on 6th Rajab 44th R.Y./1700 conferring the office of the qazi on Sharafuddin son of Imaduddin with 100 bigha as madad-i ma'ash on the condition of the service and non-realization of the dues such as mehrana and nikahana. See NAI-1385 (1112/1700).

1. NAI-1381 The jama' was less than the cash grant is perhaps what is to be expected, since the grantee could in time raise the revenue through the extension of cultivation.
2. NAI-1271.
3. NAI-1273.

states that Qazi 'Imaduddin had been assigned the revenue of a village having the jama' kāmil (maximum assessment) of Rs.200/- to Rs. 250/-. This grant too was made in liew of the service.[1] In the 39th R.Y./1697, the revenues of village Khajari having a total jama' of Rs. 440/- and the village Dhamku having a jama' of Rs.5/-, were assigned to Qazi 'Imaduddin as madad-i ma'āsh.[2] From yet another parwana of village Mirzapur, pargana Sandila was included in the madad-i ma'āsh grant of Qazi Imaduddin; the revenues of this village are said to have been mis-appropriated by others illegally, so that it had to be restored to him and an enquiry was ordered.[3] In 1095/1684, the revenues of village Maini pargana Sandila amounting to Rs. 270/- annually were assigned to Qazi 'Imaduddin as tankhwāh (salary).[4] This was possibly a temporary assignment.

These grants were made to the Qazi for fulfilling duties of his office. But he seems to have obtained further concessions by claiming to use his land for public benefit. In 1670 he was granted a plot of 8 bighas of uncultivated

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1. NAI-1374.
2. NAI-1274.
3. NAI-1408.
4. NAI-1451.

(banjar) land in the vicinity of qasba Sandila in order to raise a garden or orchard, "for the welfare of the general public."[1] Again on 19th Ramzan 21th R.Y./1679, he was granted 10 bigha (cultivated land in the vicinity of qasba Sandila for the purpose of raising there an archard, digging the wells, and planting trees along side the highway for the rest and relief of travellers and destitudes.[2] Interestingly enough such arrangements were resented by the owners (mālikān) of the land (probably the zamindārs) and hence the grantee had to request for the transfer of his grant elsewhere.[3] This was done with an increase of 7 bigha land, but with the additional obligation of establishing a mosque and khanqāh. Fortunately, we possess the chaknāma deed for the demarcation of these 17 bighas.[4]

A parwana issued in the 18th R.Y./1675 confirms a land grant of 294 bigha held by Qazi 'Imaduddin in pargana Nimkhar, sarkār Khairābad. This grant was designed to cover the expenses incurred by the grantee in feeding poor scholars

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1. NAI-1341.
2. NAI-1343.
3. NAI-1651.
4. NAI-1389.

and other destitudes at his khanqah.[1] The reference to khanqah suggest mystic predelections of the qazi, who otherwise should have been an orthodox jurist. Similarly in 24th R.Y./1682 he obtained the revenue free grant of village Mairat, pargana Nimkhar, sarkar Khairabad. This grant too was made by way of charity.[2] Apparently this family in the 17th century confined itself to income from grants and did not acquire zamindari rights of any sort. There is no information as to the fortunes of the family after the 17th century.

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1. NAI-1272.

2. NAI-1593.

CHAPTER X

AGRARIAN CONDITIONS IN AWADH ON THE EVE OF ANNEXATION

(i) The impact of British Intervention:

The kingdom of Awadh was placed in a peculiar situation during the first half of the 19th century. The excessive interference of the British Resident in day-to-day administration had considerably diminished the authority of the king and his officials. The separate establishment of the Resident was practically as 'alternative seat of power'. According to an authoritative observer (no other than Henry Lawrence), "At Lucknow for years the Resident held public durbar where the grandeer attended and pleaded against their own sovereign or his servants. Thus were the monarch and his subjects arranged against each other, thus was the sovereign degraded in his own capital.[1]"

Many of the evils besetting Awadh and the consequent disruption of local agrarian life during the first half of the 19th century arose as a result of British presence (and interference) in the administrative, military and economic spheres of the kingdom though this might not be the only explanation for the distress and miseries to which the peasants in Awadh kingdom were subjected to.

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1. Henry Lawrence, 'The kingdom of Oudh', Cultutta Review, 1845(111) pp. 414-5.

The administrative machinery of the Awadh kingdom was so thoroughly controlled by the British officials as to leave little discretion with its rulers. To quote colonel Southland, "there is no state in India with whose government we have interferred so systematically and so uselessly as with that of Oude ------ This interference has been more in favour of men than infavour of measures.[1]" Sa'adat Ali, whom even the English recognised as an extremely able and intelligent ruler, suffered from gross interference. The 'dirty hands' of the British were said to be employed against him in the disguise of reforms.[2] After such an 'active surveillance' of the Resident and his constant 'advice' for the improvement of the administration things deteriorated to such an extent that by 1836 Donald Butter was speaking of a virtual collapse of the entire set-up.[3]

The basis of the political and economic structure of the kingdom was the land revenue. It was therefore natural for the British to suggest a number of reforms in this sphere from time to time. Such measures were tried by the successive rulers of the dynasty with little or no success.

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1. CR, 1845, (111), pp. 376-7.
2. Ibid., pp. 385-6.
3. Butter, op.cit., p. 96.

Surprisingly enough the experiments were always short lived and seldom lasted for more than a year or so.[1]

The resultant instability in agrarian conditions is well portrayed by Lalji, in a section of his work, the Mīrāt-ul Auzá. He gives a vivid description for the reasons of the lawlessness and anarchy in the realm. The cruelty and arbitrary manners of the 'āmils and the mustājirs and the neglect of their duties by the state efficials, were said to be the twin causes of the evils. The chief fault is laid at the doers of the faulty nature of the revenue system. The settlement of the revenue upon those who pay it was not made in accordance with their actual portions and shares. Even if it was distributed by the officials between the parties with their mutual consent, the 'āmils and the mustājirs never respected the agreement. This naturally resulted in violent protest and reprisals. It so happened that one of two brothers who was the zamindār of a ta'alluqa submitted the qubuliyat for the land-revenue before the 'āmil and the other brother was denied his legal share. The latter began to ravage the estate.[2] Peace would have come, "if the 'āmil had given the half share to the rebel brother-----.[3]"

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1. Jagdish Raj, 'The Revenue System of the Nawabs of Oudh' JESHO, 1959 (11) pp. 92-104.

2. Lalji, Mirat-ul-Auza, ff. 11b-12b.

3. Ibid., f. 13a.

The revenue officials such as the '_āmils_ and the _chakledārs_ had the tendency to demand a higher amount of revenue from the _zamindārs_ and the _ta'alluqadars_. The latter, unable or unwilling to pay the enhanced amount, used to make summary levy and after collecting their retainers and adherents took flight to the neighbouring jungles and offered resistance to the forces commanded by the '_āmils_ or _chakledār_. Sleeman's diary of his tour is full of such instances (see our Chapter V). Such a policy brought havoc and misery to the rural people. In 1830 Maddlock observed, "the '_āmils_ or his officers finding a yearly decrease of revenue are naturally urged to further exactions until, at length, the kingdom has arrived at such a crisis that hundreds of villages have gone to ruin, the former cultivation is now a waste and the hamlets once occupied are now deserted.[1]" With _zamindārs_ or _ta'alluqādārs_ fleeing to the jungle with their retainers, the wrath of the revenue officials generally fell on the unarmed peasantry. Butter comments, "Whenever the chakledar pitches his tent, the work of plunder and devastation commences with the uprooting of the neighbouring villages to supply temporary huts for his troops; the zamindars and their immediate adherents at the same time flying to the jungles, when they ascertain an intention on the _chakledār_'s

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1. _CR_, 1845 (111), p.388.

part to increase their burden.[1]" Such a situation forced the zamindārs to be always on alert. They used to maintain substantial private armies and fire arms.

It seems that by the time of the Annexation the chakledār had come to possess greater liberty in using cannon and fire arms against the defaulting villages. "During the reign of Sa'adat Ali, a single cannon shot could not be fired by a chakledār without being followed by immediate enquiry from Lucknow, as to its causes - now a chakledār may continue firing for a month without question.[2]" Henry Lawrance once personally witnessed an armed operation by the chakledār and speaks of "the village being carried by storm; 7 or 8 of the inhabitants were killed and wounded, and all the rest were taken captive by the amils.[3]" This should not be considered as an isolated case, as such occurences were quite frequent. "We observe in the daily papers a detailed account of the death in battle of the amil of Burailah, and of the victorians ta'alluqadar having in consequence taken to the bush, to be a felon probably for life or atleast until he pays the blood money to the court. 'In this process several large land-holders were temporarily declared 'outlaws.'

1. Butter, op.cit., pp. 50-1.
2. Ibid., p.101.
3. CR, 1845 (111), p. 386.

The rise of the banditry was an indirect result of the administrative system established with the help and advice of the British Resident. The main body of the bandits comprised peasants who had suffered because of the inequities of the Chakledārs, the unemployed soldiers, or those whose pay was in arrears. Bishap Heber, while he was coming from Kanpur to Lucknow met with what had all the appearances of a state of seige at the very entrance of Lucknow, "because large sum of money, said to be 30,000 rupees, on its way to the treasury at Lucknow, had attracted a number of neighbouring peasants, who were assembled outside the walls with their weapons, waiting for the departure of the treasure.[1] "The sense of insecurity had developed so much among the people, that to Heber's surprise,"all or nearly all the remaining population were as much loaded with arms as the inhabitants of the country but I should apprehened that Lucknow offered at this moment a more warlike exterior than our own metropolis ever did during its most embroiled and troublesome period.[2]" Lālji informs us that "because of the prevalence of the acts of depredations throughout the kingdom of Oude, it was necessary for the inhabitants to keep themselves armed,

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1. Bishap Heber, op.cit., p. 46.

2. Ibid.

hence every inhabitant carried arms with him even if he had to go outside the house to attend a call of nature.[1]" Some places had become quite notorious for the activities of these outlaws. Sarangpur, 10 miles south of Tanda, "has a population of 9000 Hindu thieves, dacoits and thugs, whose depredations extended as far as Lucknow, Gorakhpur and Benares.[2]" Still Heber was not ready to think that the people of Oudh were 'habitually ferocious or blood thirsty.[3]'

Apart from the political and military implications of the suppression of law and the consequent rise of the banditry the entire range of economic activity was dislocated. When the 'āmils and chakledārs failed to collect the stipulated amount of the land revenue from the defaulting zamindārs and ta'alluqadārs, they tried to squeeze the money from the rich merchants and bankers, the latter were forced to "make advances and take, as security for repayment, the receipt of the zamindār who was a ruined man, and at the moment a prisoner in the chakledār's camp.[4]" Precisely for these reasons many bankers of Rae Bareli district having substantial capital worth upto four lakh rupees left the place and migrated to

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1. Lalji, op.cit., f.75a.
2. Butter, p. 107.
3. Heber, p.52.
4. Butter, p. 86.

the neighbouring British districts such as Kanpur, Gorakhpur, Forrukhabad and Benares.[1] On the other hand, the ta'alluqadārs and the zamindārs when they fell into arrears in payment of land-revenue and apprehended an intention on the part of the chakledār or 'āmil to invade their estates, tried to extort money from the family bankers on easy rates to make the payment and thus to effect their escape from the wrath of the government revenue_officials. C.A.Elliott has described the machin . . of Rao of Dundeakhera against the family banker Chundan Lal and the way in which the latter was forced to change his masters overnight.[2] The banker had carried on his business very well and prospered in such a way that in 1810 he was the owner of only three villages in different parts of the district, in 1825, "his estate has risen to $2\frac{1}{2}$ lac and it continued to fluctuate between this amount and a minimum of $1\frac{1}{2}$ lac till 1850 A.D.[3]" But his prosperity soon attracted the greedy eyes of the chakledār, who thought him to be a, "squezable man and required him to pay more by 1/2 a lac than he had done last year (1850).[4]" The banker, foreseeing such an eventuality, had thought it quite expedient

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1. Butter, p. 86.
2. Elliot, pp. 135-7.
3. Ibid., p. 139.
4. Ibid.

to have "built a house and good deal of landed property in Cownpoor district," so that he could claim protection as a British subject though residing in Oudh.[1]" The general feeling of insecurity and mistrust prevailing among the bankers and merchants has been aptly described by Lalji. "The bankers and the merchants of (Oudh Kingdom) do not keep their capital at one place due to the fear of the depredations of the <u>ta'alluqadārs</u> and the <u>zamindārs</u> ----- the illegal revenue demands of the '<u>āmils</u> and the <u>tehsildārs</u> ----- there are many who are the owners of property worth two lakh of rupees and have purchased <u>zamindāris</u> and the villages in the British domains. (They) keep their cash and other valuable items at the houses built in (the British) dominions and on getting any idea of the disturbances, send their families to these (houses).[2]" This flow of capital from Oudh to the adjacent British territories must surely have been a drain on the resources of Oudh.

The drain was not the only economic impact of the British preserve, but a number of other spheres could be pointed out where the dictates of the Resident undermined the authority of the king in his own kingdom. The Oudh rulers in succession advanced loans to or placed deposits with the

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1. Elliot, pp. 141-3.

2. Lálji, <u>op.cit</u>., ff. 80b-81a.

East India Company. The interest occurring at the rate of 4% or % per annum was always earmarked for certain specific charitable purposes. This amount was remitted directly to the beneficiaries and spent on the specified purposes by the Resident himself, who was accountable to none. A number of deeds of such deposits and loans have survived to show who the beneficiaries actually were.[1] The 'bond business carried out by the East India Company, too, implied similar objectives. These bonds carried 5% per annum interest. Sleeman estimated that the people of Oudh had approximately invested 3 crores of rupees in these bonds, and 'many middle class families were entirely depended on the interest of these bonds.[2] The financial as well as the political implications of these transaction were manifold; a large sum of money was drained out of the kingdom, and the payment of annual interest by the Resident to the beneficiaries and to the religious as well as chariatable institutions made a large sections of people dependent on British favour.[3]

The merchants of Oudh kingdom who carried their business in the adjacent British districts as well, enjoyed the privilege

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1. Aitchinson, Vol.II, Treaty Nos. XLIV, XLVII, XLIX, and L.
2. P.D.Reeves, Introduction.
3. Ibid.

of seeking the help of the Resident in redressal of their grivances, through the magistrates of the concerned districts. Chundan Lal, to whom we have referred above was assessed for higher amount of revenue by Kasheeparsad Tewaree, the chakledār of Poorwa. On his refusal the chakledār attached and killed his brother and plundered property worth Rs. 25,000. The matter was brought to the prime minister Ali Naqi Khan, who did nothing to punish the culprits. Thereafter Chundan Lal applied to the magistrate of Cownpoor claiming "protection as a British subject though residing in Oudh." The matter was referred to Sleeman who immediately took up the case and pleaded for justice. At this the king got annoyed with Chundan Lal for defying his authority and ordered his banishment, but through the constant pressure of the Resident, Kashiparasad Tewaree "was dismissed from chakledārship, ordered to repay 25,000, banished from the kingdom for two years and (was) declared incapable of entering the "government service again." But it seems that such a course was insisted upon by Sleeman primarily not with a view to seeming justice, but to interfering with the affairs of king. Elliot says that within 8 years of the action the British officials had pardoned Kashiprashad Tewaree and made him an honorary Commissioner.[1]

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1. Elliot, op.cit., p.

The erosion of the king's authority during the second quarter of 19th century by a series of systematic acts of ommission and commission by the Resident was an important factor for the decline of Oudh. It so happened that some of the notorious and proclaimed criminals found their way into the Residency or to the British cantonement. Similarly, the tenure of the appointment of many high officials of the king depended on the likes and dislikes of the Resident and on occasion the king was forced to dismiss and banish competent officials precisely for this reason. Masihuddin Ahmad, the plenipotentiary of the deposed Wajid Ali Shah to the Queen, cited the instances in some detail --- Raja Hunwunt Singh, the ta'alluqādār of Dharwapoor and Kalakankar, constantly evaded the payment of the Government dues and put to defiance the authority of the king. But he found his way to the Residency on invitation by the Resident.[1] The remonstrances made by the king were of no avail. His helplessness is depicted when he speaks of "offenders being allowed to find protection in my dominions, without my having the power to bring them to justice.[2]" It was also pleaded that if such landholders got protection from the English, others would get

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1. The passengers travelling in such carriges could not be detained by the officials of the state. The privilege, was misused, hence the king strongly protested and also threatened that such carriges would be subjected to checks. MMA, op.cit., pp. 140-1.

2. Ibid.

encouragement and they too would evade the payment of the revenues. Such a course would ultimately, set forth "misgovernment, give rise to innumerable evils, and lead to confusion and anarchy.[1]" But inspite of such pleas being made nothing was done by the Residents to rectify the course they had adopted.

Another incident, cited by Masihuddin Ahmad shows that Sleeman constantly meddled with the authority of the kihg, disregarded the decisions of the highest native courts of law as well as of the king himself. One Wusee Wlly Khan, under-Secretary to the prime minister, was supposed to be a very competent and efficient official of the Oudh kingdom. Unfortunately Sleeman had developed a prejudice against him. He asked the king to order his banishment from Lucknow as a seditious person. The king declined to act without getting any proof of his 'alleged seditions', as this was likely to "cause considerable disorder in my kingdom.[2]" But still Sleeman insisted and blatantly declared, "there is no necessity to prove his guilt, as the appointment imposed upon him is not his jāgīr or hereditary property.[3] Wussy Ully Khan was continued to be passed by Sleeman on one pretext or another,

1. MMA, op.cit., pp. 140-1.
2. Ibid., p. 81.
3. Ibid.

even after he had proved his fi delity and devotion to the nawāb's government. Sleeman's disrespect towards the established norms of the period and his contemptuous disregard to the authority of the king and his highest officials showed them that the "king-----(won) a mere cipher, the resident accounted all in all ----- a real mayor of the palace and the kingly authority feel into utter contempt.[1]"

(ii) Bengal Army Sepoys as a factor in agrarian instability:

The Sepoys formed an important element in the agrarian society of Oudh kingdom. They were generally recruited from a number of powerful Rajput clans and were attached to various British regiments, including those posted in the kingdom of Oudh. It was estimated by a British official in 1845 that, "threefourths of Bengal's native infantry came from Oudh.[2]" The Bengal army, comprised the bulk of the company's forces and if the estimates were accurate, the number of sepoys from Oudh must have been considerable. The people from Oudh were supposed to furnish the best disciplined infantry in India. For these reasons recruiting parties used to come here from as far as Bombay.[3] In round figures, there were some 50,000 Oudh men serving with the East India Company's forces.

1. MMA, op.cit., p.84.
2. Cf. CR (1845) Vol.iii, p.380.
3. Ibid.

An important privilege enjoyed by the sepoys was that, while serving in any part of the country, they could seek the intercession of the British Resident at the Court of Oudh to settle their local disputes. Even if their family members or any of their relatives had some grievance, they too could approach the Resident. In the prevalent conditions of lawlessness such a privilege could be considered very important. The Resident was obliged to take up all pleas of the sepoys with the limitation that civil cases were not to be over 6 years old and criminal cases 3 years old.

It was this privilege that made many Oudh people to join the company's services as sepoys. An Oudh soldier was entitled to a monthly pay of Rs.5/- or 5 1/2 only while a trooper in the British regiment (recruited from Ceaded and compured provinces) would get Rs.7/- per month. Similarly the Oudh sepoy had no pension benefits and could claim no extra allowance while on march; only they were entitled to avail of one month's leave. The East India Company sepoys posted to the Oudh Kingdom enjoyed much greater privileges. Besides being close to home, they got fuel and fodder and often food. Their baggage was always carried for them at public cost. However, these gains were made often at the expense of their fellow peasants and <u>zamindārs</u>. As Sleeman says, "they (sepoys) were the privileged class who gave much trouble and

annoyance and were often terror for their non-privileged neighbours and co-sharers in the land.[1]"

The grievances of the sepoys for which they sought redress from the Resident varied in nature and dimensions. There were cases when the near relatives of any sepoy were killed by bandits; or they were robbed of their belongings by dacoits. If the family of the victim was denied justice by the local authorities or the victims were not satisfied with the particular judgment delivered upon a case, the aggrieved family or relatives of the sepoys could approach the Resident. The Resident could order a fresh investigation into the whole matter. Since every individual sepoy could have had no direct access to the Residency, it is quite possible that the petitions were submitted through the Commandant of the concerned regiment. The tour made by W.H.Sleeman in the kingdom provided ample opportunities to every sepoy to approach him directly with a petition.[2] He says, "I have every day scores of petitions delivered to me with quivering lip and tearful eye by the persons who have been plundered of all they possessed, had their dearest relatives murdered or tortured to death and their habitations burnt to the ground by

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1. Sleeman, op.cit., Vol.I, p. 145.

2. It was alleged that Sleeman during the tour of Oudh kingdom, "has been encouraging applications and the receipts of petition from all quarters." Perry Erskine, Birds-eye view of India,p.174 Cf. M.Masihuddin Ahmad, op.cit., p. 84.

the gangs of ruffians under landlords of high birth and pretentions whom they had never wronged or offended.[1]"

The impact of such a privileged class could not but cause bitterness locally behind a facade of submission. The big landholders tried their best to get the sepoys satisfied so as to avoid any unwarranted interference in their affairs. But probably they were never fully satisfied. A British official observed, "the zamindar throughout the country will buy, beg, borrow or steal in the name of a British sepoy, in the hope of thus gaining attention to their petty claims..... We are indeed of the opinion that much (of) the Oudh government is molested and degraded by sepoy's claims, true or false, the men themselves are rarely benefited by the resident's interference. Litigation is promoted; hopes are excited and eventually the party who would, if left to his own resourdes and the practices of the country, have arranged or compromised his quarrel, is led on to his ruin.[2]"

However, it should not be supposed that the sepoys were deliberate victims of any sort of official harrasment or that they were the chief sufferers in the kingdom. The period itself was marked by a general deterioration of the law-and-order situation. In midst of such conditions, the

1. Sleeman, op.cit., Vol.I, p. 73.
2. Cf. CR (1845), Vol. III, pp. 414-5.

sepoys use to create further problems for the local administration by insisting on their privileges, and by invoking Resident's intercession all the time.[1] Often eough, the hallowness of their claims and compaints were exposed and quite known to the British officials themselves. Even Sleeman observed that, "the wrongs of which they (sepoys) complain, are of course such as all men of their class in Oudh are liable to suffer; but no other men in Oude are so prone to exaggrate the circumstances attending them to bring forward prominently all that is favourable to their own side and keep back all that is otherwise; and to conceal the difficulties which must attend the enforcement of an award when made.[2]"

Most often the sepoys preferred their claims against those who had 'well garris..oned forts and large bands of armed followers. It was practically impossible to subdue them without the help of a large and well equipped British force. Sleeman notes that on an occasion, "thirty lives were lost in attempting to enforce an ansed in favour of a sipahee of our army.[3]"

One case cited by Sleeman may well be characteristic. Shaikh Mehboob Ali was a retired subedār major. He acquired the possession of a village from his powerful neighbour's state, in addition to the lands already held by him by invoking the aid of the Resident in his land disputes. But he

1. Cf. CR (1845) Vol.III, p.
2. Sleeman, op.cit.
3. Ibid.

found it difficult to have the cultivators till the land. Taxed for reasons, he alleged the hostility of his neighbour which prevented the peasants from cultivating that particular village. Such deep rooted hostility existed because of the fact that with Resident's help he had evicted a person who had been the <u>zamindār</u> of the village for the last 30 or 35 years. There was no specific statement of the time of the event, nor did the Resident try to ascertain the facts before proceeding with the case. The resulting judgment by the Resident on behalf of the sepoys involved, "the risk of the loss of so many lives, first in obtaining possession and then keeping you (sepoys) in it.[1]" It should not be considered as the only instance of the miscarriage of justice as Sleeman himself admits that "cases of this kind are very numerous.[2]"

Apart from the big land-lords and the Local chieftains, the rural population itself was directly subjected to the high handedness of the sepoys. They perpetuated all sort of atrocities over the peasants under the shadow of British protection; wherever the sepoys went all the stocks of grain of the peasants were forcibly taken out by them. While

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1. Sleeman, Vol. I, p.165.
2. Ibid.

Sleeman himself was passing through the district of Sandeelah Bangar and encamped in the village Sakin, the sepoys of his camp had looted all the stock of straw (<u>bhoosa</u>) kept by the peasants for the use of their own cattle. The matter was reported to Sleeman by some daring cultivators. On enquiry he was informed that this was the established practice of the day that, "all villages near the road, along which the troops and establishment more are plundered of <u>bhoosa</u> and all those, within ten miles of the place where they may be detained for a week or fortnight, are plundered in the same way.[1]" Even sometimes the gross-sheds (<u>chappar</u>) were removed from the huts of the poor peasants by the sepoys in order to meet the lamp requirements. Sometimes the peasants were duty-bound to provide the foodgrains and other necessities to the encamping army of the sepoys. Similarly the army of the state, when on march, used to subject the peasants to the same hardships.

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1. Sleeman, Vol.I, p.165.

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30. Shah Panāh 'Ata, Rauzat-ul Arwāh, Ms. 1246/1838 (the date of transcriptions) contains copies of the letters exchanged between the ancestors of the compiler and the Emperors princes & notables (KKC).

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(vi) Iqrārnāmah, executed by Shah Karim 'Ata in favour of his second son Shah Panāh 'Ata, where an attempt was made to restore the waqf character of the properties in question, dated 6th jamad I 1248/1832 (KKC).

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